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CONTENTS

POLITICAL

BULGARIA

Bulgarian Leaders Comment on Restructuring at Party Plenum (ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME, 30 Jul 87)	1
Petur Tanchev, Agrarian Union Secretary	1
Radoslav Radev, Editor-in-Chief of RABOTNICHESKO DELO	7
Andrey Bundzhulov, Komsomol First Secretary	9

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Diplomat Lauds SED's Foreign Policy (Various sources, various dates)	12
FRG Daily Assesses Article	12
Text of Commentary, by Horst Grunert	13
SED Role in Economic Development Outlined (Gerhard Mueller; EINHEIT, No 6, Jun 87)	18
Summaries of Major EINHEIT Articles, June 1987 (Gerhard Mueller; EINHEIT, No 6, Jun 87)	28
History, Significance of Soviet Friendship Society Reviewed (Heinz Kuhrig; EINHEIT, No 6, Jun 87)	32

HUNGARY	
Half Measures Endanger Reform, Heat Social Tension (Marton Buza; SZAKSZERVEZETI SZEMLE, No 5, 1987)	37
POLAND	
OPZZ Critical of Proposed Labor Code Amendments (TRYBUNA LUDU, 31 Jul 87)	44
Summary of Published Proceedings of Consultative Council (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 31 Jul 87)	46
Briefs	
Soviet Film 'Repentance' Premieres	52
On Reporting of Accidents	52
ROMANIA	
West German Source Reviews 1986 Foreign Policy (Dionisie Ghermani; SUEDEST EUROPA, Jan 87)	53
MILITARY	
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC	
Worker Militia Night Operations Outlined (DER KAEMPFER, No 6, Jun 87)	62
HUNGARY	
Article: 'Map Institute of Hungarian Army 40 Years Old' (Rezso Berenci; GEODEZIA ES KARTOGRAFIA, No 6, 1986)	66
POLAND	
Ministry Struggles To Fill Empty Military School Slots (GLOS WYBRZEZA, 17 Jul 87)	69
Army Grooms Likely Recruits in Specialty Summer Camps (Jaroslaw Kopec; ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 28 Jul 87)	71
'Defense Studies' Group Seeks More Publicity, Plans Congress (ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 29 Jul 87)	73
Briefs	
Aircraft Industry Production Figures	74
Foreign Buyers Eye Sokol Copter	74

ECONOMIC

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CEMA Production Integration, Development Examined (Willi Kunz; EINHEIT, No 5, May 87)	75
--	----

HUNGARY

Kapolyi on Effects of Industrial Restructuring (Laszlo Kapolyi; MAGYAR NEMZET, 1 Aug 87)	80
Report on Investments in First Half of 1987 (NEPSZABADSAG, 3 Aug 87)	83
Medical Industry Performance Surpasses Expectations (MAGYAR NEMZET, 3 Aug 87)	85

SOCIAL

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Conflict Between Demographic Shift, Central Planning Viewed (Katharina Belwe; DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, No 5, May 87)	87
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BULGARIAN LEADERS COMMENT ON RESTRUCTURING AT PARTY PLENUM

Petur Tanchev, Agrarian Union Secretary

Sofia ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 30 Jul 87 p 3

[Speech by Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union at the Plenum of the BCP Central Committee held on 29 July 1987 at the Beroe Residence]

[Text] Comrades. It is always difficult for contemporaries to assess the scale and value of historic actions and events.

But there can be no doubt that the present plenum will play a special role in the modern history of Bulgaria because the decisions which it will take coincide with the demand for answers which are crucial for socialism both in our country as well as in the socialist commonwealth countries.

At present, socialism is confronted with a new stage, with new historical realities and with unsolved problems which require immediate and radical political actions.

In the document proposed for discussion as well as in the introductory speech, phenomena have been analyzed which concern the very nature of our system as well as the processes which threaten to deprive socialism of its vitality and attractive force, if a slowdown is permitted in our actions.

To the honor of the Party of Bulgarian Communists, the document presented today for discussion is revolutionary at its essence precisely because it does not avoid the acute unresolved problems.

For us, the officials of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union [BZNS] and all the member farm workers, this political program is full of revolutionary optimism and every idea in it will be an appeal to action. This overview is a higher theoretical and political synthesis and provides a dependable answer as to what the model of our socialist society must be under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution. To this highest forum, I would like to state that the BZNS holds in high regard and supports without reserve this general plan which sets new peaks for the ascent of socialist Bulgaria. This

is not only of great domestic significance but also has important political international dimensions.

It must be said directly that such a plenum today would have been impossible without the political wisdom and boldness of the General Secretary of the BCP Central Committee and Chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, Comrade Todor Zhivkov. His perspicacity and ability to make a change in policy, his ability to boldly look real factors in the face, to reject unnecessary obsolete forms and methods of work, to elaborate a clear program of action and finally to rely on the masses in carrying it out are the basis of the present-day strategy for a decisive change.

The developed plan for building socialism is based upon enormous practical work which we have been carrying out for several years.

For implementing the party's strategic course for qualitatively new growth, decisive actions are being undertaken both in the base and in the superstructure of society. We have merely to mention the major structural changes which have occurred in the area of the economy in recent years.

In the course of this restructuring which has encompassed all aspects of social life, however, a number of difficult problems have arisen of a theoretical and practical nature.

At present, we are confronted with the most serious challenge of our times, namely a further acceleration in social progress, the achieving of the goals and ideals of a socialist society are impossible without the mastery of scientific and technical progress and the unleashing of the creativity of millions of working people. Ultimately it is a question of creating conditions and discovering new ways for the internal forces of socialist development which have been maintained up to now.

These problems exceed the capabilities of the political system as a whole to solve them with the previous obsolete structures, techniques, methods and means.

Under the new historical conditions, these tasks cannot be carried out as hithertofore by an "evolutionary" means or by "improvement," because it is impossible to seek out new forms, methods and mechanisms of management using the old base and content.

An analysis and the ideas of the overall plan cannot be created all at once. They are the natural result and apex of the consistent realization of the Leninist April policy. This line has traveled from a study of the arising contradictions through experimentation with a number of ideas in the managing of society in order to find the ideas concerning the action of the objective laws of socialism, the role of the scientific and technical revolution and the views concerning the owner and master of socialist property.

At the same time, this general plan is a militant program of action, because the tasks which we must carry out are revolutionary in their essence.

We can be grateful that one of the most prominent builders of modern Bulgaria, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, is leading a party and a people in the fight to defend the best which human civilization has created. And he carries out this defense in a spirit of the best traditions of the international communist and workers movement, in employing the enormous intellectual strength of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrades. The content of the general plan as well as the main strategic means for realizing it at the present historical moment and around which all elements of the restructuring are being integrated depends upon our ability to solve two cardinal problems:

In the first place, in the economy we must consistently carry out the designated line of improving the property relationships and turning the commodity producers into self-managing economic organizations.

This is one "axis" around which relations must be activated at the base of society. In this manner the relationships of stagnation in property will be overcome and irresponsibility and mismanagement eliminated. Economic relations will naturally be based upon the interests of people as the main motivating force of their labor. The new property forms will be filled out with the social energy of the people, because everyone will feel that if he works better he will live better.

Secondly, another "axis" which is the main support point for the model of a socialist society is management itself which permeates all society from the primary cell, the brigade, section, shop or plant, up to the highest bodies of authority and management. Around this "axis" we must begin forming relations involving the rule of the people, the functioning of the bodies of state authority as well as all remaining elements in the superstructure.

In realizing these main strategic means, that is, the property relationships and self-management, the decisive force of the people will participate in the restructuring, because millions will be turned into the principal of management, and the power of the workers will grow into true self-government of the people. The ways will open up to activate the social and political energy of millions of ordinary people. This is what is the greatest guarantee for success and victory in this historic undertaking.

Comrades. The matter which we must take up now requires the overcoming and destruction of all old structures and mechanisms which impede the new and at the same time a new structure of authority and management must be built. This will provide scope for the objective laws of social development, for self-administration, for democracy, for economic interests, and for the social and political energy of the people.

We are still at the beginning of this path and we are fully aware that the further we go in carrying out the new strategic course, the more difficult, complicated and contradictory problems and tasks will confront us with time and effort being required to surmount these.

At present, everything depends upon our will and ambition to completely carry this undertaking out. All of us must learn to work and live under the new conditions of self-management and democracy.

This is why for us, the officials of the BZNS, the current plenum is a major forum for reflection, for evaluating and assessing all our organizational and political activities. The main provisions of the over-all plan of the model for contemporary socialist Bulgaria are close and comprehensible to us. The rule of the people, power by the people, and self-management in the obshtina and labor collectives are a historical aspiration and goal of the BZNS.

At present, when the ideas of the rule of the people under the new conditions of socialism have reached the highest peaks and permeate the entire over-all plan, we, the member agrarian workers, welcome and warmly support these ideas which open up broad paths for mass involvement of millions of people in the entire pyramid of the political system.

Comrades. In the new situation, when the BCP is so decisively restructuring its activities and its interaction with the other authorities and the mass political organizations, for the BZNS this is an example of how it must reorganize its organizational and political activities in order to play a more active role and make a greater contribution as an ally of the BCP in carrying out this general plan.

The restructuring in our midst must further contribute to the establishing of the role in the BZNS in the system of self-management and socialist democracy and in all spheres of social activity, including:

In the system of the brigade organization and self-management in agriculture;

In the diverse and rich activities of the obshtina people's councils and in self-management;

In the development of socialist democracy on the territory of the rural obshtinas and the new oblast structures.

Are our personnel, the personnel of the BZNS ready for such new type and scale of activities on the territory of the obshtinas and oblasts?

It can be said that here there is very much to do so that these cadres can play an active role in the sphere of social administration and in carrying out the new stage of the April agrarian policy. This is because the processes of restructuring which are occurring and will occur in the party and in the social organizations apply and will apply fully to the BZNS. These are primarily the questions linked to the training and skills of our main leadership personnel, with the new style and methods of their work, and with the improving of internal organizational and political activities which must be concentrated in the inferior elements, in the local agrarian societies and particularly in the brigades which are the "backbone" of self-management in agriculture.

This is why the question of the higher skills of the main activists of the BZNS who work in the brigades in agriculture is assuming much greater importance and acuteness. Particularly at present, when our new agrarian policy must be put into effect and about which the general plan states that it must enter the stage of a new "green revolution" involving the production of more raw products and the development of biotechnologies which will have a revolutionizing impact in the sphere of agrarian policy.

Comrades. What characterizes particularly strongly the period of the April Leninist party line toward the BZNS is the great reciprocal political trust between the two fraternal parties and the unity of action in carrying out the April policy in all spheres of the sociopolitical and economic life of the nation.

If we were to be asked what does a Leninist attitude of the party to an ally mean, we would reply look at the relations between the BCP and the BZNS. This would be our best reply to those who endeavor to show that under the conditions of socialism the Communist Party is the only principal of political power which does not tolerate other allies.

I would emphasize that for implementing the concept of the model of modern socialist Bulgaria, the fraternal joint activities of the BCP and BZNS have assumed particular significance. At the center of these activities we must put the main problems of the restructuring and the realization of this overall concept, particularly in the sphere of the new agrarian policy.

Comrades. A key question for all elements of the political system is to be fit and ready to join in the restructuring not from a position of authority but rather with the strength and authority of correctly explained functions, as well as tasks for work under the conditions of self-management. This is particularly valid for our participation in the bodies of authority and management through the entire social pyramid.

Of exceptionally important significance is the restructuring which is assumed in the highest echelon and the establishing of a single body of authority and management. This opens up effective ways for raising and improving the leadership and coordination of the entire political and economic system under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution.

The widening of socialist democracy and the greater role to be played by parliament and its commissions require much higher political and economic training for the people's representatives in order to raise the nature and content of parliamentary activities and the role of parliament.

The BZNS recognizes and will assume its responsibility for furthering the social principle in all bodies of authority from the local people's councils to the National Assembly. And this is not a formal representation but rather an active stance of studying and carrying out the will of the people in the work of these bodies and providing their integrated functioning for the people and by the people.

At the same time, I would like to mention that the restructuring and development of socialist democracy will further raise the authority and prestige of Bulgaria and socialism. They increase the attractive force of our nation as a sought-after and desired partner. This creates the prerequisites for strengthening and widening the political platform of international activities for the BZNS. Many of our partners from influential democratic and other parties and organizations are watching the development of these democratic processes with great interest. At the same time the restructuring which is occurring in the activities of the bodies carrying out Bulgarian foreign policy to a large degree applies to the international activities of the BZNS. These international activities must be linked more strongly and more closely with the economic aspects of Bulgaria's relations with other countries and must seek ways for more successfully discovering the paths of cooperation in the aim of introducing scientific and technical progress and new technologies in our nation.

Respected comrades. The realization of the ideals of mankind is linked to socialism.

Thus it was 70 years ago when the October Revolution marked the beginning of a new era in human history.

Thus it was during the years of the Great Patriotic War and the fight against rising fascism which threatened human civilization.

This is the case at present, when the international workers movement, the intelligentsia, and all progressive people view with hope and reassurance what is happening in the socialist countries and primarily the Soviet Union.

This is because the questions which we are discussing now are not ordinary and they are reinforced by what is being done by the CPSU Central Committee headed by Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and supported by all revolutionary forces in the world.

Our present reality is both our difficulties and shortcomings as well as our successes and victories, our social optimism in the present and future. This optimism has its historical roots, because our people have gone through a difficult historical time, they have healed the wounds and overcome the obstacles and difficulties.

In this struggle history has strengthened the unity between the agrarians and the communists. As always, we will march shoulder to shoulder with you in the undertaking which we are now outlining for the prosperity of the people and for raising them to among the most developed nations.

We were with you when the great change was carried out in building socialism in the Bulgarian countryside.

We were with you during the entire period when the cooperative system was established and strengthened and the industrial might of Bulgaria was built up.

And at present, in this crucial and fatal historical time, we are with you for the ascent of socialist Bulgaria!

Our historic destiny is to progress, not to allow faint-heartedness and not to permit personal plans and interests to stand higher than public ones. More than at any other time, at present, we must be demanding and begin the restructuring primarily with ourselves and take step after step with an awareness that we will succeed if we work decisively and tenaciously!

Thank you for your attention.

Radoslav Radev, Editor-in-Chief of RABOTNICHESKO DELO

Sofia ZMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 30 Jul 87 p 3

[Speech by Radoslav Radev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and Editor-in-Chief of RABOTNICHESKO DELO]

[Text] He stated that the proposed general plan is a bold further development of the general April line and with full confidence can emphasize its progressive nature.

The current plenum, he stated, must reach the heights in modern party history both in terms of the scope of the planned fundamental restructurings as well as in terms of the strength of its theoretical soundness and, perhaps most importantly, in terms of the beneficial consequences which must arise from the carrying out of the planned decisions.

We are aspiring to the peaks of human progress and we have as our goal the turning of the motherland into a highly developed and cultured state. The realization of the scientific and technical revolution which is the super key to achieving this goal presupposes and requires that this be carried out in the purest moral atmosphere, by pure and bright individuals and by totally dedicated and active creators of socialism.

The speaker went on to take up moral indoctrination. Here the main thing is to emphasize evermore brightly and more strongly the positive, the attractive, striking example. This is a task also for the party organizations and particularly for the workers in the press, television, radio and agencies. And not only because the tone of the overall concept and the introductory speech assumes the highest exactingness and self-criticism but also because we are profoundly convinced, it cannot but be recognized, he said, that both in the newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO as well as in a goodly portion of the remaining mass information media, here there remains much to be done. In quantitative terms, there are grounds for tentatively a good evaluation, but in qualitative terms we are definitely in the debt of our readers, viewers and listeners. A high, moral personal example is an exceptional factor for indoctrinating socialist individuals. However, there are few publications or broadcasts about strong and unique individuals, publications which are an event in the life of the nation, to stir, touch, or move the thoughts and feelings of a man.

The staff of the newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO has set the noble ambition before the next party congress to make a major breakthrough: the strong, vivid figure of our contemporary is to become the dominant hero of the newspaper and will be an attractive example for people and particularly for the younger generation.

The struggle for communist morality is, however, also a struggle against the negative in life. Very important and timely are the ideas expressed in the introductory speech of not permitting pessimism, not absolutizing the negative phenomena and thus create an incorrect notion of our society. The party demands that we be truthful to the objective truth and then, only then, in the context of this truth, will our critical alerts ring accurately and truly.

In a report recently, we stated that over the 5 months, the newspaper had published 210 critical materials. We had received 304 replies and this was good. The bad thing was that 118 of these were of a purely formal nature. The phrase even became familiar to us: "Thank you for your timely criticism. We are taking measures...." In several repeat checks it turned out that nothing had changed.

Where does the reason lie? Who is to blame? What must be done?

The first cause is with us, the editors. Often our critical articles are superficial and for secondary questions we do not investigate the prime factors. We do not return two or three times to the same place in order to see what has changed. Consequently, we have not used a significant portion of our own opportunities to increase the effectiveness of our articles and win greater respect.

The problem of the effectiveness of our articles and broadcasts, however, the speaker went on to stress, is far from exhausted by the possibilities and responsibilities of the editorial collective. Moreover, this, let us be just, depends primarily upon factors outside the press, television and radio.

In emphasizing that there are many examples when after the most persuasive, serious and sincere criticism, effective results were not forthcoming, he stressed that by administrative, economic and indoctrinational measures of a superior level, this must be achieved. The person criticized must be put in such a situation that he cannot help but respond within the shortest reasonable time and with the most serious approach.

What are some of the possibilities?

The party committees, both okrug and obshtina, must respond more systematically and effectively to critical articles. The okrug and obshtina party leadership must see how those comrades who are on their party rolls respond to the critical article.

Here we cannot help but emphasize, he stated, that the example has been given: the Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee just in the last year discussed three articles in RABOTNICHESKO DELO and took decisions. The Bureau of the Council of Ministers has discussed an article prepared for publishing and has

also handed down the appropriate decision. The question is to make this style penetrate the entire pyramid and produce a beneficial result.

The appropriate superior state, departmental and public bodies must always assume the most active stance and use our alerts and undertake meaningful decisions and measures.

The results of the checks and the rulings of the Central Control-Auditing Commission on key decisions of the Central Committee Plenums, the Politburo and Secretariat also require greater publicizing.

In conclusion, Radoslav Radev pointed out that the Bulgarian journalists at this crucial historical moment are doing everything within their power to make this creative undertaking of the Party and the people successful and are taking faster steps toward our universal and great goal.

Andrey Bundzhulov, Komsomol First Secretary

Sofia ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 30 Jul 87 p 3

[Speech by Andrey Bundzhulov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee]

[Text] The basic provisions worked out by Comrade Todor Zhivkov of the general plan for the further construction of socialism in Bulgaria are a historic document permeated by the spirit of the times, a synthesis and creative continuation of the Marxist-Leninist April ideas and undertakings of our party, stated the First Secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee in his speech. This document is of exceptionally important significance also for the youth and it is our great responsibility to link the vital ideals and prospects of the young people with the construction of the model of modern socialism in our country.

The general plan raises the necessity of a new type of social organization. In the course of preparing and holding the 15th Komsomol Congress, the speaker emphasized, we reached the conclusion that in order to be adequate to the new requirements and conditions, the Komsomol organization requires a profound and thorough restructuring. This conclusion has been categorically supported by the youth itself. The over-all plan has worked out a new vision of the place of the Komsomol in the political system.

The general plan provides a clear notion and method for restructuring the Komsomol. This must begin from the basis, the youth association. A profound change is required in the contents of the activities and method of its functioning. How is this expressed? In the first place, the Komsomol association is to be turned into an organic part of the self-managing community. It is to be set up and function under this community.

As an element of the self-managing community, the association certainly will not lose its organizational independence. It, however, will assume fundamentally new rights, duties and responsibilities; qualitatively new conditions and a new environment will be established for work with the youth.

The opportunity for the young person to participate fully in the self-management of the collective and the territorial community will be widened and raised to a new level. Secondly, the very association is an independent, self-managing cell. It must be precisely an association and not a government structure, and it must bring together and unite the young people who are members of the Komsomol. Thirdly, the Komsomol association, within the self-managing community, expresses and defends the specific needs and interests of the youth. This function will not only not diminish but under the new conditions will grow, since self-management directly rests on the interests of the youth.

The self-managing community is not insured against the development of tension or the exacerbating of one or another youth problem. This is why the association can be a specific regulating factor in the self-managing community, in terms of a just solution to youth problems.

On this basis we will seek a solution to the question of what will be the rights and obligations of the association as part of the self-managing community? Obviously, their spectrum will encompass the actual daily life of the youth and the way of this life will satisfy the main needs and interests of the young person.

We would like specifically to emphasize that here it is not a question of trying to satisfy the entire range of needs and interests of the young people by the Komsomol. This is neither possible nor realistic. Needs and interests can be satisfied first of all within the self-managing communities on the socialist principle of distribution.

The speaker went on to emphasize the need of a qualitatively new level in the activity of the youth and their associations.

As for the Komsomol committees, emphasized A. Bundzhulov, we are beginning their complete restructuring as self-managing bodies. The aim is that they not merely become self-managing structures but be turned into the bodies for the self-management of the associations and organizations. The bureaucratic bodies do not need to be removed from the youth but from the self-managing bodies of the youth itself, their associations and organizations.

This means, the speaker said, that the youth from the bottom up must be involved in the activities of the Komsomol bodies. The social or volunteer principle must be not merely widened but raised to a new level. From an appendage to the apparatus, this must be turned into the basis of the functioning of all levels of Komsomol committees. The apparatus or central personnel is to be sharply curtailed. We will consolidate and simplify its internal structure along special-problem lines.

A qualitative change will occur in the method of interaction of the individual hierarchical levels. The principle which we will follow is the principle of the overall plan of depleting the functions "from bottom to top" with the superior levels keeping only those problems and functions which cannot be resolved further down. These are primarily the functions relating to the

elaboration of a common line (strategy), the coordinating of activities, feedback (the study of youth public opinion) and so forth.

If we take the Komsomol Central Committee, the speaker emphasized, we recognize that it can no longer "determine what the Komsomol societies do."

At times, we still encounter the opinion, stated the first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, that the present generation of youth lacks sufficient ideals. The truth is something else: in inheriting the ideals and values of previous generations, at the same time it is also the carrier of a new sensitivity, a new emotionality, as well as new criteria.

I would like to assure you, the speaker said in conclusion, that the youth will get behind the innovative ideas and revolutionary decisions of our party's Central Committee. They will show in deed their responsibility to the people and to the future of the fatherland.

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DIPLOMAT LAUDS SED'S FOREIGN POLICY

FRG Daily Assesses Article

23000365 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 13 Aug 87 p 4

[Article datelined "Ws." Berlin 12 Aug 87: "The GDR Praises Its Foreign Policy"]

[Text] The GDR evidently attributes it exclusively to its foreign policy that chairman of the Council of Ministers Honecker can now carry out his long-planned visit to the FRG. In an article on GDR foreign policy published in the East Berlin monthly foreign policy journal HORIZONT, former deputy GDR foreign minister and later ambassador to the United States and Austria, Prof Horst Grunert, writes that the fact that a Honecker visit in the FRG has now become possible is one of the positive results of the GDR's world-wide policy of dialogue characterized by the efforts for creating a "coalition of reason." Grunert's article is one unending hymn of praise for the policy toward the West pursued by Honecker in recent years and depicted as an independent policy. Not a single word is said in this context about Moscow's role and U.S.-Soviet relations—nor, incidentally, about relations between Bonn and Moscow.

Grunert writes that its "consistent, steadfast and purposeful policy of peace," its constant support of cooperation, its "unchanging willingness to search for peaceful and agreed-on solutions providing positive impulses for the international situation," are a decisive factor for the high international standing of the GDR. Above all, it is the constructiveness and balance, predictability and reliability of GDR policy that has given the GDR the approval of nations and the respect of governments. The GDR has always proven that it considers the policy of peaceful coexistence not just a political slogan but as a fundamental element of its policy, "a guideline to be imbued anew every day with life. A wealth of ideas, flexibility, consistency, an eye [for realism], and willingness to compromise has become the trademark of GDR foreign policy of the past 15 years," claims Grunert.

The GDR enjoys particular international esteem with regard to its share in the development of political dialogue, "particularly the dialogue of leading representatives of states and political movements, as well as influential economic circles." It is the historic merit of the Party and state leadership

to have recognized early that, in an era concerned with the existence or non-existence of mankind, the political leaders of a nation have a greater personal responsibility for overcoming threatening dangers and bringing about constructive peaceful cooperation, as well as helping to settle controversial questions. Political dialogue on the one hand offers the possibility of presenting in detail one's own positions and foreign policy goals as well as domestic political rationale, and on the other hand, of informing oneself about the goals and intentions of the partners and to become acquainted in this manner with their motivations. Political dialogue, if conducted with an eye to results and based on the willingness to take into account the legitimate interests of the other side, including security interests, can open the road for future negotiations.

The creation of a coalition of reason--the cooperation demanded by Honecker of all political and social forces who want peace, regardless of different political programs, ideological positions and religious faiths, beyond class barriers and separating factors, in order to protect people from the catastrophe of a nuclear war--has become the leitmotif of SED policy, writes the East Berlin diplomat. The efforts to create a coalition of reason do not at all exclude the FRG. Numerous talks with representatives of the Federal government and state governments, with leading representatives of the opposition parties and captains of industry, had always aimed at binding both German states to the joint obligation that only peace, not war, might emanate from German soil. "Even in talks with zealots of anticommunism such as Strauss, one could sense the effort to search for a common denominator in the struggle for reducing tensions in Europe."

Grunert adds that the GDR had not abandoned its basic position, although setbacks had occurred "because of the inconsistency of official Bonn policy." Through restraint it had prevented a further straining of the situation. Grunert points to Honecker's reaction to the deployment of U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe. In 1983, when the situation in Europe and relations between the two German states had been severely strained by the missile deployment, Honecker's demand for damage control had contributed greatly to calming the situation. Harking back to the old adage that it is better to negotiate 10 times than to shoot once had thus prepared the ground for future solutions in the interest of peace.

Text of Commentary

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 20 No 8, Aug 87 (signed to press 3 Aug 87)
p 3

[Article by Prof Dr Horst Grunert, sometime GDR ambassador to the United States and to Austria: "Trademarks of GDR Foreign Policy: Constructive--Balanced--Predictable"]

Text] Every meeting with representatives of other countries confirms anew: the German Democratic Republic enjoys respect everywhere on the globe. The peoples of the socialist world appreciate it as a solid and reliable alliance partner, whose principal policy always aims at strengthening the unity and closeness of

socialist countries and whose steadily developing economic power constitutes a vital element of strength of the socialist community. The countries of the "Third World" greatly appreciate the solidarity of the GDR and its affiliation with the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, its oft-proved willingness to provide rapid aid, and its constant efforts for cooperation to take care of the immediate needs of these countries.

A decisive factor for the high international regard of the GDR are its consistent, steadfast and purposeful policy of peace, its unchanging support for cooperation, its constant willingness to search for peaceful agreed-on solutions providing positive impulses for the international situation. Even governments of capitalist countries, who in the not too distant past had often had difficulty in acknowledging and accepting the existence of the GDR, today show a demonstrative interest in GDR policy and great readiness to discuss the international situation with its representatives in order to find solutions for existing problems. Many a Western politician, who once had opposed equal cooperation and through various tricks had tried to delay its acceptance in the family of nations represented by the United Nations, does not want to be reminded of it today.

The turnaround in the thinking of these politicians already occurred when the GDR began its cooperation in the UN system. Those politicians who had realized that recognition of the GDR as a sovereign state was inevitable, but who also feared that its entry into the international arena would lead to new complications and would increase the incalculables in international politics, realized to their surprise and relief that the GDR had not come to burden the UN with new problems, but on the contrary, that it was determined to cooperate constructively in implementing the great tasks that confronted and still confront the world organization. The GDR has followed this course all these past years, and will continue to do so.

It was above all the constructiveness and balance, the predictability and reliability of GDR policy effected by this course, that brought it the approval of nations and the respect of governments. The GDR has always proven that it does not consider the policy of peaceful coexistence simply as a political slogan, a prayer formula even, but rather as a fundamental element of its policy, a guideline to be applied in practice and to be imbued with new life every day. This approach is bearing fruit precisely at a time when this policy of forming relations with states of the other system, under aspects most favorable for socialist countries, has developed into the only justifiable form of existence of relations between states of different social orders. Great imagination, flexibility, consistency, an eye [for realism], and readiness to compromise have thus become the trademarks of GDR foreign policy of the past 15 years. These characteristics have made our republic an esteemed partner in international cooperation.

Greater Responsibility for the Fate of Mankind

The GDR enjoys particular recognition with regard to its share in the development of political dialogue, above all the dialogue of leading representatives of states and political movements, as well as influential

economic circles. It would surely be foolish to ask about the "inventor" of the policy of dialogue. The capacity for dialogue developed with the species of man coming into existence, it is an essential element of his existence. Dialogue is the most important component of any negotiation. Dialogue is silenced only when weapons speak. This is not to deny that in the past, also, there have been occasional political talks on high and highest levels, agreements on future actions between the leading representatives of states with different social systems. One has only to call to mind the repeated meetings between the leading representatives of the anti-Hitler coalition. But the institution of political dialogue is much more. It grew out of the realization that today, current methods of traditional diplomacy are evidently encountering limits. They are no longer sufficient to overcome deep-seated thought patterns and to reduce the mountains of mutual distrust created during a time when it was usual to push through unilaterally one's own interests against the interests of others by threatening or using force.

It is the historic merit of our Party and state leadership to have recognized early on that, in a time concerned with the existence or nonexistence of mankind, the political leaders of a nation bear greater personal responsibility in order to overcome threatening dangers, bring about constructive, peaceful cooperation, and to help settle controversial questions peacefully. They must not shirk this responsibility. In this sense, the GDR sees the policy of dialogue as a permanent interest, independent of short-term considerations and temporary fluctuations, in meetings with representatives of states with different systems, a willingness to exchange opinions with politicians of different ideologies in order to search for solutions to all problems no matter how complicated, whereby the legitimate interests of the parties concerned must be taken into account.

Political dialogue on the one hand offers the possibility to explain in detail one's own positions and foreign policy goals as well as their domestic rationale and, on the other hand, to inform oneself of the goals and intentions of the partner and to acquaint oneself in this manner with their motivations. This demands of both sides the capacity of not only knowing how to talk, but also how to listen. Even a regular exchange of opinions and information makes it possible to gain greater clarification of the position of interests of the other side, to better understand their attitude, to clear up misunderstandings early on, and to make the situation more predictable. In addition, political dialogue, if carried on with a view to results and based on the willingness to take into account the legitimate interests of the other side, including security interests, can open up the way for future negotiations leading to a genuine balance on the basis of compromise, to understanding and agreements. The aim of dialogue is to remove a situation in which the negotiation of solutions proceeds so badly because each considers the other capable of anything, and to create more trust instead, which will bring greater peace.

And even if one should not succeed immediately in reaching agreement on a mutual balance of interests, a factual dialogue can contribute to avoiding increased gravity by confirming the principle of a peaceful settlement of disputes, bringing about clarification and definition of viewpoints, and

favoring a further search for starting points for understanding. That is what the GDR means by cooperation and dealing in civilized forms.

Cooperation Beyond Class Barriers

Sometimes one encounters the question about the causes for the GDR's impressive commitment to peace and security. The answer is obvious. From the very beginning, the GDR has appeared as the German state which feels an obligation to the legacy of the German workers' class to fight against the imperialist war and for peace and social progress. It has always recognized its special responsibility that fascism and war must never be repeated. In his government declaration of 12 October 1949, Otto Grotewohl had already stated: "German imperialism brought upon the German people two world wars within one generation. This must not be repeated. All progressive forces must jointly take care that German imperialism in its drive for conquests can never again destroy the foundations of life of the German people." A straight line leads from this declaration to Erich Honecker's demand, stressed time and again and reconfirmed at the 11th Party Congress, that a war must never again start from German soil.

In addition to greater responsibility, it is realization of the special vulnerability of our state which causes the GDR leadership, based on the will of the entire people, to participate in the process of detente with energy and a wealth of ideas. The situation at the border between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, in the heart of central Europe where the world's greatest concentration of arms of mass destruction is located, made awareness of the real dangers grow faster than perhaps elsewhere. While in the initial phases of nuclear weapons some could perhaps still hope to survive a third world war, it quickly became evident that that chance never existed for us.

It was a timely recognition of Karl Marx, when Erich Honecker stated at the Karl-Marx Conference in Berlin on 11 April 1983: "Before this forum gathered in honor of Karl Marx, I should like to call it the order of the day that all political and social forces intent on establishing peace, regardless of different political programs, ideological positions and religious faiths, beyond class barriers and separating factors, work together in order to preserve the people from the catastrophe of a nuclear war...This creates the historic chance that the most diverse forces join in the struggle for peace, and that this struggle reaches a breadth never before extant." This goal has become a leitmotif of SED policy.

Since then, the party of the workers' class has done much in order to make the call for a coalition of reason a reality. In his letter to then Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of 5 October 1983, Erich Honecker wrote: "In complete accordance with the interests and wishes of the citizens of the GDR, it is my opinion that all those wanting to prevent the descent of mankind into a nuclear catastrophe should get together in a coalition of reason in order to have a calming effect on the international situation, and to leave no stone unturned in order to prevent a new round of the nuclear arms race."

The concept of a coalition of reason has shaped innumerable meetings with politicians from other countries. One need only call to mind the meetings with representatives of Finland, France, Greece, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Canada, Malta, Austria, and Sweden, or the most recent talks in the Netherlands. And it was seen time and again: the appeal found an echo encouraging to people.

Objectiveness Also in Relations With the FRG

The efforts for creating a coalition of reason do not at all exclude the FRG. On the contrary! Numerous talks with representatives of the FRG government and of state governments, with leading representatives of the opposition parties and with captains of industry always aimed at binding the two German states to the joint obligation--also confirmed in the declaration by Erich Honecker and Helmut Kohl--that only peace, not war, might emanate from German soil. In a toast of 19 September 1985, Willy Brandt said on the subject: "You, Mr. Chairman, have spoken of a necessary coalition of reason. I am picking it up and add: the will for survival also compels a coalition of the dissimilar...Given the choice--and I am almost using your own formulation--between living together or perishing together, it becomes obvious: whatever distinguishes and separates us politically--some of it fundamental--, is certainly not trivial, it retains significance and effect; but it must still be subordinated to the duty for peace."

Even in conversations with zealots of anticommunism such as Strauss, one could sense the effort to search for a common denominator in the struggle for reducing tensions in Europe. Although setbacks occurred because of the inconsistency of official Bonn policy, the GDR did not abandon its basic position; through restraint it had prevented a further straining of the situation. When the 1983 deployment of NATO missiles in the FRG severely strained the situation in Europe and relations between the two German states, the demand for damage control, as formulated at the 7th plenary session of the SED Central Committee, contributed greatly to calming the situation. Harking back to the old adage that it is better to negotiate 10 times than to shoot once cooled off the hotheads, put notorious troublemakers in their place, and thus prepared the ground for future solutions in the interest of peace.

This was also the case when this year some politicians in the FRG--for electioneering reasons which foreseeably did not even pay off--tried to outdo each other in denouncing the GDR. Here, also, was demonstrated the confident superiority of the GDR, a natural result of strength and the certainty of the rightness of one's own position, when Erich Honecker declared before the first secretaries of the SED kreis leaderships: "Objectivity, predictability and taking into account the legitimate interests of both sides are necessary so that relations between the GDR and FRG continue to progress. We are guided by that. It is also the reason why we answered the provocative attacks during the election campaign in the FRG in the clear manner known to you, without ever topping rudeness with even greater rudeness."

Among the positive results of such a policy is the fact that now, a visit by Erich Honecker in the FRG has become possible, which was welcomed by Federal Chancellor Kohl and speakers of all the parties represented in the FRG parliament.

SED ROLE IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OUTLINED

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[Article by Gerhard Mueller, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and First Secretary of the SED Erfurt bezirk leadership: "Political Leadership Activity Directed Toward First Class Performance"]

[Text] To provide 10,000 more personal computers than planned for our national economy in 1986--with this initiative the workers at the Soemmerda office machines plant began the "race with time" in the year of the 11th SED Congress, and since then they have been winning it. The struggle to achieve the best possible performance has become a mass movement among the workers and is penetrating the entire social life of our republic.

It can be felt everywhere: The 11th SED Congress has introduced a new chapter in the ongoing formation of a developed socialist society. It is characterized above all by effectively linking the advantages of socialism with the scientific and technical revolution and requires that all of the capabilities, experience and creative potential of the workers be developed. In particular this will strengthen the economic power of the GDR through a broad application of key technologies and through first-class performance, produce more social results and allow the sources of social wealth to flow more richly.

Continued success along the course toward unity of economic and social policy, victory in the technology battle, meeting all of the requirements for strengthening socialism and ensuring the peace--these are the aims of the political activities of the party organizations. Entirely in keeping with these ideas, great responsibility has been conferred upon the SED Erfurt bezirk party organization for implementing the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress; and our bezirk has great potential at its disposal: 88 percent of the unipolar monolithic circuits, for example, are produced here, including important products such as the U 880 microprocessor system and the single-chip microcomputer; all of the personal computers produced in the GDR come from Soemmerda, while all of the pocket calculators in our nation, as well as the KC 85 small computer, are produced in Muehlhausen. Within our republic the Optima VEB in Erfurt builds all of the large electronic typewriters which can be connected to other information technology equipment. Two thirds of all of

the cold-forming machine tools in the GDR are produced by the enterprises of the metal-forming combine. Fifty of our nation's machine construction enterprises obtain their control technology from Erfurt. Moreover, 90 percent of all watches and alarm clocks and nearly 50 percent of all tricotee-fabric outerwear are manufactured in our Bezirk. Agriculture in this Bezirk produces nearly 10 percent of the grain harvest on 7 percent of the arable farm land in our nation. Erfurt is also known not least of all for its high-yield horticultural areas.

In order to employ this potential more effectively in accordance with the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress, we have drafted two strategic tasks which were adopted within the SED Bezirk leadership:

- o Development of the Erfurt Bezirk into a center of high technology
- o Further development of the Bezirk into an important agricultural and horticultural center

The accomplishment of these two tasks will have a decisive influence on our political leadership activities. Accordingly, the Bezirk leadership has developed long-term programs for guiding the economic and social processes involved in the development and application of key technologies and in the further development of socialist agriculture and horticulture. These programs are directed primarily toward shortening the development and implementation times required for peak performance with regard to products and processes, developing far-reaching socialist teamwork, further improving working and living conditions and ensuring that workers become qualified and receive further training in all areas. Which enterprise and which facility is to perform what tasks in what amount of time and with what economic results is stated in concrete terms.

Economy of Time

There is much which requires fundamental political and ideological clarification, but the standards established by the 11th SED Congress are to be applied everywhere. Therefore, we have requested that a leadership document be prepared in every combine and enterprise containing a realistic evaluation of the following: Where do we stand with respect to the international level; how and within what time period do we want to reach and help to determine this level? This has contributed greatly to the development of clear-cut points of departure in the struggle to achieve first class performance.

One of the most important and burning questions on which we have focused in our work in this area is how to implement economy of time more effectively; as Karl Marx pointed out, "this is ultimately what all economy boils down to." For just that reason the goal of our ideological efforts is to generate greater understanding everywhere of the fact that it is above all the rate of increase in labor productivity which determines our performance in the race with time in the world and the extent to which economic progress can be translated into social progress. And in order to accelerate the rate of increase in labor productivity, it is absolutely essential that the enormous possibilities opened up by the scientific and technical revolution in

particular be very systematically developed and exploited to this end. Saving time by increasing labor productivity and entering the market promptly with new products with which we can compete internationally--this is the yardstick we must apply without exception.

The consequences involved here, for example, are made clear by comrade Prof Franz Boessler, candidate for the SED Central Committee and chief design engineer at the microelectronics combine in Erfurt: "If we were to continue to work with our current design methods, the computations for the fast VLSI microprocessor systems of the future would take ten years. According to the economic plan we have nine months. With new methods which we are already using in actual practice in laboratory form and with courageous, intelligent, creative collectives and new equipment, we can decide the time question for ourselves."

Examples of the results of this approach and of the conscious application of the law of economy of time according to need and utilizing all options in optimum fashion are: Saving as much total developmental capacity for new generations of circuits as would correspond to the output of 100 workers in one month; series production of these circuits ahead of schedule; increasing our own capacity for the development, manufacture and utilization of microelectronic components and subassemblies in 16 user enterprises; more rapid availability of the 16-bit personal computer; ensuring microelectronic controls for the entire product line of the metal-forming combine; preparing 33 subjects to be investigated by the bezirk universities and technical schools regarding key technologies for enterprises; and qualifying more than 20,000 workers to work at CAD/CAM stations and other highly effective systems.

At the same time other questions involving future development are taken into account. With the formation of a "Computer-Integrated Automated Production" interest group, which encompasses 14 combines and enterprises and two university facilities, what we hope to achieve is the formulation of future technology out of current CAD/CAM applications and the possibility of linking the individual stations to computer-integrated automated production one step at a time.

Crucial Aspect of Party Work

That the kreis leadership in each case--following the example of the bezirk leadership--prepare its own leadership documents has proven to be the proper thing to do. On this basis we will make 1987 the year of accelerated development and broad application of science and technology. Thus, we will demand of ourselves what comrade Erich Honecker expressly emphasized in his speech before the kreis leadership first secretaries on February 6 of this year: "Political assessments of economic processes and the quantifiable conclusions to be drawn therefrom with respect to leadership activity should be more consistently linked to efforts to organize ideological work, to educate the leaders regarding positions taken in the struggle, to guide initiatives along the proper paths and to ensure discipline, order and security." (2)

Bringing society's interest in peak economic results in line with the interests of the workers' collectives and the interests of the individual, and thereby mobilizing the masses and allowing broad latitude for their initiatives and their creativity is our first leadership task. Accomplishing this task requires dedicated political and ideological effort, because only with a clear head, solid socialist awareness and an unshakable class standpoint can the race with time be won.

Based on the six priorities of ideological work established by comrade Erich Honecker, all workers must be made aware that the advantages of socialism--the results of the creative efforts of millions--can be made even more effective if each individual fulfills his specific responsibility for further strengthening our republic and assuring peace. This means clarifying the political significance of disciplined, industrious day-to-day efforts and providing greater understanding of the fact that the honest work of each individual is essential for effective, smooth functioning with respect to the workings of the collective, the enterprise and even the overall national economy. Effective ideological work leads to awareness of the fact that everything which is necessary and right in terms of our concerns is also right and useful for the individual, and this awareness in turn motivates and mobilizes action. Based on the plan for political mass effort, the monthly estimation of the political situation and the fulfillment of the national economic plan by the bezirk leadership and the leadership of all the kreises--this is precisely why comrades engage in a political dialogue with the workers on a daily basis, hold discussions every month in all workers' collectives and call residents forums every three months in all towns and communities. Effective support for mass political effort is provided by our bezirk newspaper "DAS VOLK." Public sharing of experiences is carried out in concrete and exemplary fashion through such initiatives as "Key Technologies By Us--For Us" and "Young Researchers--Scaling the Summit." The report, "The Faces of Scientific and Technical Progress," presents the objectives and motivations involved in the efforts of exceptional comrades and reports on the results of their work. In the series, "Prism of the Bezirk," plans and results involving the development and implementation of key technologies are presented for public scrutiny. Involved in all of these efforts is above all a massive emphasis on class-based actions, a great desire to perform and a creative climate for conscious action. Because in the final analysis it is the efforts of all workers which permit the realization of far-reaching intensification which is based more and more on first class performance and which must be implemented for the development and application of key technologies in all branches of the national economy.

The roots of first class performance are found primarily in the efforts of those who are active in research and development. We gear ourselves to the specifics of their work and politically and ideologically urge them to perceive their responsibility more effectively with respect to the economical, efficient transfer of research results into production.

It is really in the research and development stage that the intrinsic value and the use-value of a product are already decided. More than ever, therefore, it is essential that economic awareness be imparted and that economic thought processes be emphasized so that researchers, design engineers

and project drawing offices be in a better position to measure and evaluate their own performance with respect to social requirements and the highest levels of international competition. Moreover, it is essential that there be greater understanding of the fact that economic strategy requires the intensive utilization of all social resources, including intellectual resources, and that shift work--working around the clock on the most modern research technology--be recognized as a social requirement.

First Class Performance Not Delivered Free of Charge

At the Optima VEB office machines factory in Erfurt, for example, first class results were achieved in the development of a small electronic typewriter within 24 months. And these comrades are keeping up the pace. This year yet the workers at the office machines factory want to produce 40,000 of these small typewriters and export a large number of them. Next year already, 100,000 are expected to be produced. The office machines factory workers have prepared well: The machines for mass production were developed and circuit board assembly and the production line were already being set up while this product was still in development; there was a conversion from a mechanical to an electronics based enterprise.

The key technologies are also making inroads in agriculture. At the "Thomas Muentzer" LPG in Muehlhausen, for example, awareness of basic research was applied to meristem propagation and the technology was applied to production. Today this enterprise completely covers the demand for strawberry plant cultures in the GDR. In one day 250,000 healthy strawberry plants can be produced; before, one week would have been required. And today trained horticulturists are at the same time also laboratory assistants, for which additional training was organized within the region.

Practical experience has shown that even in our bezirk more and more collectives are mastering the requirements of scientific and technical progress because they know and they themselves experience the following: The crucial economic prerequisites for realizing the unity of economic and social policy and for improving their working and living conditions are established by first class technologies and first class products.

When collectives report on their results or individual workers speak about what has spurred them on to great effort, the following motivations are given above all:

- o to provide a personal contribution to social progress toward strengthening our socialist GDR and thus maintaining the peace
- o to improve living conditions in our nation and for one's own family
- o to be well represented when performance is compared at the international level and within the best collectives in the GDR or one's own enterprise--to be among the best
- o to be recognized for one's efforts

These are important motivations for achieving the best performance using all one's strength, creative ideas, discipline and enthusiasm.

The decision of the workers to do everything possible to maintain peace--in view of the threat to life on earth presented by the danger of a nuclear war--has become an overriding motivation and a mass movement which has grown out of an awareness that socialism means peace. The "My Workplace--My Place in the Struggle for Peace" movement makes it clear that the workers are aware of the significance of their actions and therefore set themselves lofty goals and realize them one by one.

In terms of leadership activity it is essential that, through specific political and ideological effort and the creation of conditions that will promote performance, we emphasize precisely these motivations and allow them to produce the highest level of willingness to perform. Therefore, continuous clarification, which is both fundamental and concrete, of political and economic interrelationships and of the influence of education, particularly by party groups acting as the political motive force behind the workers' collective, is necessary. Related questions which must be answered nearly every day are: How does each individual set the highest goals for himself in his daily work? What is the quality of the work; where are errors still permitted? Are important work-related resources handled responsibly and effectively? Are they being fully utilized? Is one's own knowledge sufficient to meet present as well as future requirements?

Above all the party organizations, each individual comrade and the leaders must clearly and convincingly answer these questions. And at the same time the leaders in particular are expected to organize the work such that the best possible performance is able to be achieved each day. With the development of first class performance, the improvement of economic results is also absolutely necessary. An example of how this goal can be achieved is provided by the newest product of the Ruhla clock factory workers--quartz-movement clocks, the heart of all travel alarm clocks and wall clocks. This clock movement is much smaller and flatter than its predecessor and has fewer parts. The assembly robots are manufactured at the enterprise itself. Material costs were lowered by 33 percent, overall prime costs by 27 percent. The working time involved is now down 40 percent and following complete automation will be less than half. And the Ruhla workers established the prerequisites for such successes themselves. Today they design and produce the microelectronics for their clocks and manufacture another 2.8 million components for enterprises outside of the clock industry. In the meantime, 1300 "classical" mechanical specialists and clockmakers are working as microelectronics experts, 300 of them engaged in the assembly and development of circuits.

But we also know--and have adjusted our ideological efforts accordingly--that the work is not organized with this complexity everywhere. Many are waiting for finished solutions to be delivered to their door; they are crying for more equipment rather than fully utilizing the available highly productive machines and systems in several shifts and they are crying for workers instead of organizing an increase in labor productivity by fully utilizing their own potential.

In terms of political leadership activity we are also paying particular attention to those problems which develop in the transfer of research results into production and with regard to achieving planned performance. To be sure

this is a complicated phase. Reports from party organizations and leaders and our "on-site" discussions within enterprises show that time problems arise especially where development, design, modeling, testing and production are pursued one after the other and where one waits until the development of a new product is completed before assembly of the equipment is begun. Today, however, all this work must be initiated at the same time, as is already standard practice among the microelectronics experts of Erfurt.

In our political mass education efforts we also reveal the causes of the substantial differences which are shown to exist when enterprises with similar objective requirements are compared. These causes are found primarily in the very different ways in which clear-cut work-related tasks and goals are determined, labor is organized and workers are included in the preparation and performance of these tasks. That is why we are renewing our efforts toward a more effective general application of the experiences of the peak performers and the creation in all areas of an atmosphere conducive to moulding people who will battle for first class performance. Because we know that, "An economy which bases its strength increasingly on the capability of its people to master high technology needs an all-pervasive creative climate within the society in order to flourish," (3) as was clearly emphasized at the 11th SED Congress. In such a climate, forward-moving collectives grow and camaraderie, mutual aid and support flourish. A critical, intolerant atmosphere fosters a willingness to strive for the highest goals, to break with outdated leadership methods and performance standards and to be critical of inadequate performance.

All Efforts By the People, For the People

Because the workers' collective plays such an important role in the development of socialist thought and action among its members, it is the responsibility of the party branches, in close cooperation with the mass organizations and all social forces, to provide for a productive, creative climate. And as schools of socialism, as the motive force behind socialist competition, and as representatives of the interests of the workers, it is the unions which engage in intensive political and ideological efforts to create an atmosphere of intense rivalry to achieve the best performance.

At the same time, socialist competition is a political instrument for steering the initiatives of the collective toward qualitative economic growth factors and for tying them to the improvement of living and working conditions. With regard to this process, we are directing the union leadership to better coordinate the initiatives of all sectors of the enterprise in the battle for first class performance. The innovators movement supported by the unions is an important area of worker creativity. With the introduction of key technologies this movement is gaining in importance and therefore deserves our attention and active support. All the more so, since the unions in our Bezirk have set the goal for themselves of including 40 percent of all workers in the innovators movement.

In order to give workers clear guidance with regard to their own concrete contribution toward accelerating scientific and technical progress, the unions, moreover, are more intensively developing planned collective action by the innovators. In the struggle for first class performance they are organizing this action primarily as a joint socialist effort between workers and the scientific and technical intelligentsia.

Under the leadership of the Free German Youth, the movement called MMM (Messe der Meister von morgen) with its science fairs is becoming an important proving ground for young people interested in mastering science and technology. The party organizations support the objectives of our Free German Youth bezirk organization to bring 80 percent of all young people into MMM this year. Therefore, we are asking the leadership, in cooperation with the Free German Youth, to be more systematic in establishing its responsibilities based on the science and technology plan, to publicly turn these responsibilities over to the youth brigades and allow them to develop into commandos for socialist competition.

In our political leadership activity we are guided by an awareness that, "By discussion everything which affects them in the workers' and union collectives--from improvements in technology and more useful forms of labor organization, to the measures needed for providing qualifications, to questions of the employee supply system, business traffic and living and working conditions--economic and social progress is supported by the thoughts and actions of everyone." (4) Such democratic cooperation provides a strong motivation for successfully solving problems and meeting complex responsibilities. If constructive ideas and the best suggestions of the workers flow into the solution of these problems in this way, then difficult problems such as doubling personal computer production within a year can also be solved.

A good atmosphere is supported by confidence in the efforts of the workers whose jobs frequently undergo fundamental changes when they are mastering key technologies: They are not accustomed to the new technology and often it is not quickly grasped; the work becomes more intellectually demanding and requires new knowledge and great concentration. The rhythm of working and living changes--and families must also adjust to this. In carefully clarifying all social questions for each individual, we offer proof that workers and engineers involved in socialist collective work are in a position to unleash many new productive forces and that the problems of the scientific and technical revolution can be solved by the people in our nation of workers and farmers to their own benefit.

In the struggle for first class scientific and technical performance we need all of society's potential. We see that we have reserves in this regard, in that many highly qualified women can be purposely employed in leading positions. For example, women represent 50 percent of the people employed in microelectronics and 29 percent of the industrial advanced and vocational school cadres, but only a few are involved in leadership functions. Our goal is to obtain more women for such tasks and to employ them in leadership positions.

An important method for achieving first class performance involves performance comparisons. These comparisons lead to a constant critical and self-critical review of the performance level achieved, provide assurances that major problems can be solved, encourage the collectives--spurred on by the experiences of the best achievers--to follow new paths in order to approach the level achieved by the most advanced collectives. And the comparison spurs the top collectives on to do even more in order to maintain their positions.

The more dedicated the drive for first class performance, the more new territory there is to cover and the greater the risks which are encountered. Communists are therefore expected to be at the forefront of their collectives in terms of taking reasonable risks, to set an example for the young researcher collectives in particular, to find and contribute to new ways of achieving first class performance along with both young and experienced researchers and to educate those first class performers which our society needs. It is essential to develop young researcher collectives in which valiant strides, force of will and youthful candor are typically used to solve demanding problems, particularly those at the focal point of science and technology. Their number has increased in our bezirk from 322 to 523 since the 11th SED Congress. They are proving to be the vanguard of scientific and technical progress and an important molding influence for promoting talent and developing peak performers. Winning over the best as candidates for our alliance in the struggle is an important leadership responsibility of the party organization with respect to research and development, particularly regarding microelectronics. Presently, one third of the members of the young researcher collectives are comrades--the most successful of them the leaders of these collectives.

Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized to the first secretaries of the kreis leadership: "What the workers have a right to expect from each socialist leader is a clear statement of the task, good labor organization and not least of all an ear which is always attuned to the worries and concerns of the individual. Ensuring the cooperation of the collectives in this manner is the real responsibility of each socialist leader." (5) Through the political and ideological leadership and educational efforts of the party we ensure that the leaders become ever more adept at meeting this crucial demand, that they are willing and able to adapt to new, forward-looking ways and can assist in a breakthrough, that they do not become entrenched in the old ways but rather actively and creatively seek solutions and implement them using the strength of the collective.

Successfully managing all those responsibilities which arise out of the application of key technologies and out of the struggle for first class performance requires us to further increase the quality and effectiveness of political leadership activity. Various consultations by kreis leadership secretariats with the leadership of each of the basic units, immediate on-the-spot assistance, the continuing appearance of leading cadres at the general meetings, the training of temporary party activist groups which are based on individual priority projects and are in part above and beyond the enterprise--these are forms and methods which we must apply more broadly and effectively. No less important is the further qualification of party cadres. Therefore, as resolved by the secretariat of the bezirk leadership we conduct a series of

lectures for all official party functionaries on fundamentals and development trends in the area of key technologies and in so doing discuss, among others, the following topics: Development and production of microelectronic components and their applications, the use of CAD/CAM and computer technology, software production, personal computers in leadership and management processes, the use of biotechnology.

Naturally, increasing demands are also made on state agencies because processes which deeply affect the lives of the people, such as further qualification, the assumption of new activities and the transition to shift work, bring forth many questions and problems which must be resolved within the region jointly with the enterprises in the interest of the workers. The way in which the citizens of a socialist society actually experience the results of the unity of economic and social policy in their immediate surroundings, in the enterprise and in their homes and the way they see their interests realized has a great affect on their attitude toward social requirements and on the development of their performance behavior.

As our experience shows, the struggle for first class performance in peak times always creates more new problems regarding leadership activity. We will always solve them in such a way that the trusting relationship between the party and the people continues to deepen and the conscious efforts on the part of the workers to successfully implement the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress are furthered--by showing anew each day that the human being is the focal point and that the health and happiness of the people are the purpose of all our actions.

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SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, JUNE 1987

23000343 East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 42 No 6, Jun 87 (signed to press 13 May 87) pp 482, 576

[Summary of article by Gerhard Mueller, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, First Secretary of the SED Erfurt bezirk leadership; pp 493-500. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Political Leadership Activity Directed Toward First Class Performance

Top results are based on scientific and technical creativity, combative attitudes, desire and ability to perform, willingness to take risks, taking measure of performance without compromise against the world's best and effectively implementing current economic measures. How are the workers to be motivated and mobilized to do this? Answers are provided and conclusions are drawn regarding further increases in quality and effectiveness based on the leadership experiences of the SED party organization of the Erfurt bezirk.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hans-Joachim Beyer, member of the SED Central Committee, head of the research section at the Institute for the Political Economy of Socialism of the Academy of Social Sciences, pp 501-507]

[Text] . . . Ultimately This is What All Economics Boils Down To

In the process of continuing to organize developed socialism, economy of time is assuming increasing importance and to a large extent determines the central theme of our social strategy--the unity of economic and social policy. Economy of time at its highest level requires in particular that all qualitative growth factors be applied across the board in order to increase labor productivity and to take into consideration the growing role of the time factor. What are the consequences which result from this regarding the performance activities of the combines and how must interaction among all sectors of society be organized in the interest of greater economy of time?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Georg Ebert, member of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the Department of the Political Economy of Socialism at "Karl Marx" University, pp 508-513]

[Text] The Time Factor as Economic Strength

Offering new products at an internationally competitive level promptly and in sufficient quantities to meet demand--these are indicators of economic capability and flexibility. What are the effects of the time factor on costs and on the desired price in the international market? How can the growing power of the combines, in close cooperation with the scientific sector, be utilized in order to take economy of time into account?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Fritz Haberland, member of the SED Central Committee, department head at the Central Institute for Socialist Economic Leadership, pp 514-519]

[Text] Research in a Race Against Time

The race against time requires time savings at every stage of the capital replacement process--beginning with research and development, all the way to sales. What are the requirements for effective cooperation between R&D people and those in sales and foreign trade? How can the development, design and implementation times be substantially reduced by employing key technologies in research and development? What conclusions can be drawn from this regarding leadership?

[Summary of article by Dr Ing Reiner Krannich, General Director of the VEB Combine, Household Appliances, Karl-Marx-Stadt, pp 520-526]

[Text] Consumer Goods and Key Technologies

In its orientation toward people, our economic strategy essentially includes the production of more and higher quality consumer goods. By employing key technologies, scientific and technical progress is also expected to continue to take shape within them. What tasks must the household appliances combine accomplish in order to maintain a commanding position with respect to products which are competitive at an international level?

[Summary of article by Dr Werner Gerth, head of the Department of Young Workers of the Central Institute for Youth Research, Council of Ministers of the GDR, pp 527-532]

[Text] Youth and the Scientific and Technical Revolution

What are the views and modes of behavior of young workers with respect to science and technology? What expectations and goals motivate them in their labor activities involving new scientific and technical products, particularly regarding the key technologies? How do they judge the value of requirements such as further training and shift work, for example? And what can be done to utilize more effectively and to reinforce the potential of these young people?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Doris Machalz-Urban, member of the SED Central Committee, head of the Department of Political Science and Law at "Karl Marx" University, and by Prof Dr Rolf Schoenefeld, director of the Scientific Section on the Teachings of the Marxist-Leninist Party at "Karl Marx"

University, member of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the Scientific Council on Basic Questions Regarding the Leading Role of the Working Class and Its Marxist-Leninist Party, pp 533-538]

[Text] The People--Sovereign Organizers of Their Own Lives

On the fundamentals and essential features of the sovereignty of the people of the GDR and on the convergence of text and reality as it pertains to the constitution. In what ways are the breadth and diversity of democratic cooperation and contributions to organization expressed? How are aspects of socialist democracy which have developed historically and proven themselves in real life perceived, and what new areas of activity with respect to aiding democratic organization are opening up in the current epoch of our social development?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Eberhard Poppe, Political Science and Law Section at Martin Luther University in Halle/Wittenberg, member of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR, pp 539-544]

[Text] On the Basic Idea of Human Rights and Its Unity

In discussing the common man's perception of human rights and based on real life within capitalism and socialism, reasons are given why the socialist nations wholeheartedly embrace the indivisibility and mutual dependence of economic, social, cultural, political and individual rights declared by the United Nations General Assembly; and evidence is provided on how this unity is ensured and realized in our nation.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Ulrich Hofmann, First Vice President of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR, member of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR, pp 545-551]

[Text] Deeply Rooted in the Best Historical Scientific Traditions of Berlin

Science in Berlin commands a wealth of progressive traditions. Why is it that only the socialist society is able to show to best advantage the humanistic concerns of science? What demands are thus made on the scientist, particularly in view of the close ties between theory and practice, science and production?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Gerhard Keiderling, research group leader at the Central Institute for History of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR, pp 552-557]

[Text] Following our liberation from fascism by the Soviet Union and its allies in Berlin, our present course was set in the clash between progress and reaction. This city became the point of origin of triumphant, revolutionary changes in our nation--a focal point of hard class differences. Ernst Thaelmann's prediction that Red Berlin would become the main center of the German revolution was borne out.

[Summary of article by Dr Lothar Winter, lecturer at the Institute for Research on Imperialism at the Academy for Social Sciences, member of the SED Central Committee, pp 558-562]

[Text] The Working Class in Capitalist Industrialized Nations

Drastic changes in social living conditions and in the structure of the working class are taking place in nations with government monopoly capitalism--particularly as a result of capitalist utilization of the scientific and technical revolution and the growing importance of complicated types of work. Who belongs to the working class today? What changes are indicated within the core of the working class and in its relationship to the technical intelligentsia? What conclusions can be drawn from this with respect to the workers' movement?

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HISTORY, SIGNIFICANCE OF SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY REVIEWED

23000343 East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 42 No 6, Jun 87 (signed to press 13 May 87) pp 486-489

[Article by Heinz Kuhrig, member of the SED Central Committee and vice-president of the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society: "German-Soviet Friendship--an Integral Part of Our Life"]

[Text] Right now the German-Soviet Friendship Society is looking back on four decades of successful efforts on behalf of friendship and fraternal ties with the land of the Red October. Under the leadership of the party of the working class it has contributed to the fact that today German-Soviet friendship is deeply rooted in our people.

Looking toward the 70th anniversary of the great socialist October Revolution, the general secretary of the SED Central Committee, comrade Erich Honecker, emphasized that "for us German communists, the alliance with the Soviet Union is and always has been a fundamental question of the class viewpoint." (1) And in the same vein, the general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, on the occasion of the 11th SED Congress said, "You know that our party and our people have stood beside you in all the years since the war, always ready to help the young workers' state. We were true friends and allies of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and of the German Democratic Republic and we shall remain so for all time." (2)

Today this friendship is proving its worth anew in convincing ways: A common world view, common class interests and common class goals unite us. The common struggle for peace, the most important concern of our time, unites us. The peace initiatives of the USSR and the proposals of comrade Mikhail Gorbachev to make our earth free of all atomic weapons by the year 2000 and as a first significant step to remove the short- and medium-range nuclear missiles of the USSR and of the United States in Europe have the support of our people without restriction. The ties between our two nations and peoples become closer and more effective in the struggle to further strengthen socialism and its international appeal. The motive force behind this fraternal cooperation is the united struggle of the SED and the CPSU which becomes more committed year after year. With a clear orientation and a confident perspective we are jointly realizing the long-term program of

cooperation in the areas of science, technology and production up to the year 2000, and within the community of socialist nations we are making our contribution toward realization of the overall program of CEMA.

We are correct in saying that German-Soviet friendship is the most important friendship that our nation has achieved in the course of its history. It was a process of intensive controversy over the spiritual wasteland left behind by fascism and at the same time the practical experience of solidarity in terms of aid and cooperation in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. The task of making German-Soviet friendship a matter dear to the hearts of all the citizens of our nation, as formulated by Wilhelm Pieck, was realized within this process and within the attitudes and political actions of the people. If this legacy of the first president of the GDR--who was also honorary president of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship--is today an integral part of our daily lives, it is because the organization of the Friendship society has also done its part.

When the delegates assembled in what was then the House of Culture of the Soviet Union in Berlin--the current Central House of German-Soviet Friendship--on June 30, 1947, to establish a society for the study of the culture of the Soviet Union, they represented approximately 2000 members of study group which had already been formed in our nation following the liberation of our people from Hitler's fascism by the illustrious Soviet army. At the time, the House of Friendship was, "with its exhibits and facilities, an oasis in the desert which Hitler's henchmen left behind," as Wilhelm Pieck wrote in the House's guest book. This comparison aptly characterizes the situation at the time in which the anti-fascist Germans, together with their liberators, undertook great and patient efforts to bring the entire country down the path toward a bright future. With tireless efforts the members of the Friendship Society helped to spread the truth about the Soviet Union and to create a genuine relationship of friendship with the Soviet Union.

In so doing they were able to hark back to established revolutionary traditions. Since the first days of the great socialist October Revolution, the German left has been joining in solidarity with the revolutionary workers, farmers and soldiers of Soviet Russia. In a letter to his wife, Karl Liebknecht wrote, "Among the thousands who have sacrificed their own lives, I would like to help--to lend a hand in the only way in which the Russian revolution and the world can be helped." (3)

During the years of the Weimar Republic two organizations were at work within Germany which subscribed to the notion of promoting friendship with the Soviet Union. In 1923 the Society of Friends of the New Russia grew out of a great solidarity movement for Soviet Russia, which as a result of imperialist intervention and the counterrevolution of the White forces at the beginning of the 1920's was in the throes of a famine. These people were primarily members of the intelligentsia, scientists and artists, who declared their sympathy for the first nation of the workers and farmers. They included Albert Einstein, Kaethe Kollwitz, Thomas Mann, Otto Nagel and many other well-known persons. The Society concerned itself primarily with becoming familiar through lectures and publications with the truly humanistic activities which were developing within Soviet Russia.

When the imperialist powers increased their pressure on the Soviet Union in the second half of the 1920's and were preparing for aggression, an international movement against their imperialist conspiracy came into being under the leadership of the communist parties. Out of this movement there arose in November of 1928, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the great socialist October Revolution, the Alliance of Friends of the Soviet Union in Germany. This organization of the proletarian masses, spurred on in its efforts by the Communist Party of Germany and in particular by that fervent friend of the Soviet Union and honorary member of the Red Army, Ernst Thaelmann, included 60,000 members by the end of 1932.

Immediately after establishment of their dictatorship the fascists forbid the friendship organizations and persecuted its members and functionaries. Many of them who kept the flame of friendship burning even during the fascist night were tortured and murdered in concentration camps and penal institutions. One of the first victims was Erich Baron, long-time general secretary of the Society of Friends of the New Russia.

The brilliant victory of the Soviet Army over Hitler's fascists also opened up for our people the way toward its socialist future. We will never forget that 20 million sons and daughters of the Soviet people gave their lives for the liberation of the peoples of Europe, including our own. With the act of liberation by the Soviet Union, German-Soviet friendship entered a new, higher level. Standing shoulder to shoulder in the front rows during rebuilding with the activists who were present at the new beginning were the heirs of the Red October--Soviet friends in and out of uniform. Selflessly they imparted to us their experience, helped us to overcome the material and spiritual ruin and ensured above all that our reconstruction work could continue in peace.

The spirit of friendship and fraternity with the land of Lenin, the land of the liberator, with the helpful friend and comrade in the struggle, who began at that time to be drawn into the hearts and minds of millions of workers, in all the years since then has become a constructive force for our social progress under the leadership of the SED. In the program adopted in 1976 by the 9th Party Congress our party was able to state: "The unshakable friendship and cooperation with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people was, is and remains a source of strength and a basis for the development of the socialist German Democratic Republic." (4) Since its founding, the German Democratic Republic has stood steadfastly at the side of the Soviet Union. Friendship with the USSR is included as a basic principle in its constitution.

That the Society for German-Soviet Friendship, as an integral part of the National Front of the GDR under the leadership of the party of the working class, should actively participate in the formation of a developed socialist society within our nation corresponds totally with the overriding importance of our alliance with the land of the Red October in this struggle, of the dynamically developing cooperation with the USSR which was, is and remains an essential basis for our successes. Based on the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress and inspired by the speech of comrade Erich Honecker before the first secretaries of the kreis party leadership, the Friendship Society is employing the means and options at its disposal to further increase the effectiveness of

its work. It is concerned above all with continued efforts to encourage citizens of all classes and walks of life, regardless of their world view or their religious convictions, to consciously join the ranks of German-Soviet friendship as an important motivation for active, performance-oriented efforts on behalf of strengthening the socialist fatherland and world socialism and defending the peace. The political and ideological work of the Society also helps to solidify the inseparable unity of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism and to strengthen the unshakable trust of our members in the policy of the SED which is characterized by this unity.

On this basis the Society for German-Soviet Friendship is mobilizing its members to actively participate in realizing the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress, particularly with respect to the main battleground--the unity of economic and social policy. Publicizing exemplary experiences and supporting and motivating those workers' collectives which bear the honorary title of "Collective of the German-Soviet Friendship Society," in the battle for high levels of performance to solve the problems of long-term scientific, technical and economic cooperation between the GDR and USSR, are given a high priority in this regard.

The Society for German-Soviet Friendship sees one of its principal tasks in publicizing the achievements of the socialist world power, the Soviet Union, whose workers are ambitiously leading the struggle to implement the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress. This party congress was, as comrade Erich Honecker stated, "an event of historical importance in terms of continuing advances by the Soviet people in developing and strengthening socialism, in terms of its improvement in all areas and according to plan, in terms of the continued march toward communism--an event of great international appeal." (5) With a convincing presentation of the values and advantages of socialism based on the efforts and achievements of the peoples of the USSR and GDR, the Society for German-Soviet Friendship is taking the offensive against antagonistic anti-communist and anti-Soviet policy and ideology, against the imperialist persecution and maligning of real socialism.

A large part of the work of the Friendship organization involves a detailed explanation of the peace policy of socialism, in particular the far-reaching suggestions and initiatives of the Soviet Union, as well as the concrete contribution of the GDR to the prevention of a nuclear inferno. The Society is actively urging that its members act consciously according to the maxim, "My workplace--my place in the struggle for peace." Closely tied to these efforts are diverse contributions by the organization to strengthening the brotherhood in arms between the National People's Army and Soviet Army which stand side by side in meeting their international and patriotic obligation to stand watch for peace.

The central board of directors, the bezirk and kreis boards of directors and the boards of directors of the individual chapters of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship feel that their most important task is to motivate the more than six million members organized in 52,000 individual chapters and departmental groups to realize these tasks and include them in their work. More than 600,000 honorary functionaries are engaged in these efforts.

Preparations for the 70th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution represent the next step along this path. The political and ideological work of the Society is directed toward making its members aware of this historical event as an international turning point, as the beginning of a new epoch in the history of mankind--the epoch of the worldwide turn from capitalism to socialism--as the basis for the rise of the Soviet Union to the socialist world power that it is today, as a victory for the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and toward deepening this awareness: While the Soviet people are realizing the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the people of the GDR are realizing those of the 11th SED Congress, "they are faithfully fulfilling the ideals of the Red October and meeting their obligations to strengthen international socialism and ensure peace." (6)

The 13th Congress of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship will take place in May 1988. The Friendship organization will then determine the results of its contribution to meeting the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress. It will also determine what activities can be realized to provide new incentives to deepen and solidify our joint struggle, our friendship and fraternal cooperation with the Soviet people in the interest of our common concerns regarding socialism and world peace.

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HALF MEASURES ENDANGER REFORM, HEAT SOCIAL TENSION

Budapest SZAKSZERVEZETI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 5, 1987 pp 17-22

[Article by Marton Buza, director of the Theoretical Research Institute of Trade Unions: "The Trade Unions in the Political System"; based on a paper presented at a conference on theory, held in Szeged; date of conference not given]

[Text] The Reform's Contradictions

To control the economy and protect its equilibrium, economic policy is often forced to adopt short-term emergency measures, which inevitably raises two problems:

First, the economic measures that serve short-term interests do not appear—in some cases—as parts of a long-term approach to the economy. In other words, from the viewpoint of entire society and macroeconomically, we are not always able to guarantee the long-term, strategic nature of the economic measures, and hence neither a purposeful and consistent connection between the individual measures. In consequence, the prospects of the economy's development, and the social impact of the individual economic measures we are often forced to introduce, are not clear in advance. This in itself can cause considerable confusion in our ideology and value judgment. It is more difficult to handle such confusions today than in a situation when economic growth is dynamic and there are no equilibrium problems.

Typical of the situation at present is the contradiction that optimally the state of the economy should be the foundation for the real prospects of economic reform, but (as the history of the past two decades demonstrates) our interest in continuing the reform process tends to wane when the economy is in equilibrium. Which indicates the danger that, when equilibrium changes to disequilibrium, our interest in a policy of reform may be functioning primarily as a crisis-averting mechanism. This jeopardizes the ability of economic policy (and even of politics) to consistently think the reform through, to treat it clearly and unambiguously, and it also threatens the reform's constructive and offensive nature. Thus the individual economic measures are defensive ones, in addition to very often being contradictory in their long-term effects, and their defense of equilibrium could also lead to a further increase of our indebtedness. If we examine

the past decade, in its approach to perfecting the system of economic management we find that—due to the pragmatic, short-term interests—the elements of a linearly restrictive and nondifferentiating economic policy are mixed with the elements of an unfolding long-term approach to reform that is also theoretically well founded. This ties in with the fact that reform has various meanings in economics and sociology. Reform is not a consistently developed concept, but one that reflects often conflicting practical aspirations. Hence there is great uncertainty regarding the role of reform, the questions of its content, and its objectives and tools. This uncertainty is also evident in that neither the long-term planning approach to reform, nor even its practical implementation, is always able to respond, consistently with its internal logic, to the changes in world politics, the world economy or individual regions, and to the questions resulting from such changes. Now when a radical reform of social welfare policy and economic policy is unfolding in the Soviet Union, this problem is of fundamental importance for Hungary's economy and social-welfare policy. The changes that have already occurred or are expected to take place in the Soviet Union will compel in many respects a reassessment of our relations with CEMA, East Europe, Europe, the West and East, and the North and South, at least so far as the evolved economic judgment and the emphasis of our relations are concerned. This reassessment, in my opinion, will establish the real prospects of economic policy.

The other circle of problems that economic development and the reform's continuation raise concerns the relationship between economic pragmatism and ideology. The problems in this area, we might say, boil down to the mutual inconsistency of long-term and short-term planning, as reflected in the contradiction that our present practice attempts to find ideological justification for the short-term economic measures, which often are introduced by necessity. But this in its turn jeopardizes the credibility of ideology. In the present historical situation it is essential to recall Lenin's approach, formulated when his NEP [New Economic Policy] was introduced: there are measures whose necessity is indisputable, yet they cannot be regarded as another stage in socialism's long-term revolutionary victory. Lenin made no secret of the fact that the NEP was made necessary by various pressures stemming from the economic and political crisis, hence its introduction was essential to socialism's overall historical defense. But the NEP is never presented in Lenin's writings as an "adequate," final form of the Soviet economy and Soviet society. He frankly admitted that the NEP's introduction was unavoidable, "based on a specific analysis of the specific situation." Because it protected fundamental interests, and the road led through it to a change in the situation, such that it would become the foundation for the unfolding of the Soviet economy and Soviet society. But Lenin never concealed the fact that this was also a compromise between class interests.

I feel obliged to remind the reader of this because we often encounter the method of attempting to justify individual short-term economic measures ideologically, rather than on the basis of economics and politics. Thereby the changing of socialism's face is subordinated to justifying short-term economic measures. This often detracts from the credibility of our ideological constructions associated with the economy. And what is even

more important, it obscures rather than clarifies the long-term objectives to which the reform's individual measures of economic development must be subordinated. Thus the economic and the social content of the reform become confused, which is also true of the economic and the social interests in reform. Furthermore, the set of social conditions for, and the impact of, the economic reform's individual measures become unpredictable, and so do the reform's long-term objectives and prospects.

I will cite merely one example for illustration. The initiatives which declare the broadening of political democracy to be an essential condition for reforming the system of economic management actually fail to explore, in a significant proportion of the cases, the now timely substantive questions of political democratization. An approach that sees the essence of political reform in allowing different interests and views to clash usually fails to take into account the situation that has actually evolved, and in the course of formulating the objective it thus diverts attention from the contradictions. What I am objecting to is not the objective itself—after all, political democratization is a sound strategic objective—but our failure (conforming to past practice) to clarify the conditions on the basis of which the objective is formulated, and the means by which it can be realized.

When distribution, wages and incomes, the situation of individual strata, the inequalities of regional development, etc. are being realized under restrictive conditions determined by an inflationary economic policy, it makes sense to declare political democratization as an objective only if we formulate it together with the specific practice of developing economic, political and social equal opportunity. When the institutions for the representation of economic and political interests are more and more perceptibly asymmetric in relation to society's increasingly apparent pluralistic structure of interests, the liquidation of unequal opportunity in the representation of interests inevitably necessitates the rethinking of the economic and political institutions' interest-representing function and mechanism. As long as this asymmetry persists for formal and substantive reasons, the danger exists that important social interests may remain "mute" interests; in other words, that they will not have equal opportunity when clashing with other interests, and often may not even be voiced at all. How the individual strata in Hungary are today able to assert their social and cultural interests depends on the extent to which they are able to assert their economic interests.

If we examine our system of institutions for the representation of political and economic interests, and the realistic prospects of the individual institutions in representing interests, we find that the prospects of the interest-representing organizations are determined by the economic role and power of those whom they represent. Which unavoidably raises the question: Which strata provide the mass support for our reform objectives? This is particularly important in the light of the past two decades in Hungary's history because interests have diverged, and in most cases the strata making the greatest sacrifices at any time are not identical with the strata who are the "beneficiaries" in the given situation. Traditional and often dogmatically treated representation of interests now comprises numerous new

institutions, and the political and social importance of the individual institutions is inseparable from the economic prospects of the strata whose interests the institutions are representing.

Interest-Representing Structures

In addition to the traditional system of political institutions, also new economic and voluntary public institutions have been and are being formed to represent interests. Parallel with the MSZMP, PPF, National Assembly and SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions], the TOT [National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives] and the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce have been assuming an ever-greater role during the past two decades. For that matter, so have the constantly reforming voluntary public and cultural organizations representing local "societies," i.e., strata. In the restructuring process that is taking place in the wake of the economic-policy measures adopted during the past few years, the individual strata are formulating more and more resolutely their demands for the institutionalization of their own interest-representation efforts, while the inequality of opportunity in the assertion of interests is increasing.

When analyzing equal opportunity in the assertion of interests, we must not omit the changed role, and the changed position within the structure, of the "traditional" interest-representing institutions, and the resulting reformulation of the laws that govern their operation. If the analysis disregards the institutionalization of the pluralism of interests, then the interest-representing institution might come into conflict even with its own stratum; in other words, it would aggravate the objective contradictions resulting from the situation, also with contradictions stemming from the institutions' operation. So that we do not have to look far for an example, it will suffice to point out that—as a result of failure to think things through carefully, and of the ever-wider gap between the resolutions of the 13th MSZMP Congress and the country's actual economic situation—the 25th Congress of Trade Unions has created for the trade-union movement a new situation regarding the reformulation of interests, a situation that merits analysis from the viewpoint of both strategy and tactics. This applies equally to the trade unions' place within the system of political institutions, to the relationship between the trade unions and the strata they represent, and to the mechanism of asserting economic and social interests that follows from the organizational structure.

Thus if we set a democratic political reform as our objective, we cannot dispense with an analysis of the conditions on which the objective is based, and of the instruments available for achieving it. This, however, is already a question that affects not only the trade-union movement, but our entire system of economic and political institutions as well. In the present situation we must reckon with the fact that if reform is not an unambiguous concept, but one that in practice has various meanings, then every particular economic and social interest presents its own assertion as justified by the reform's general interests, declaring its own assertion a general interest. And then behind the ideological justification of the declared assertional interest there appears a particular economic and social interest, and the particular interest might prevail over others. If we look

beyond our developed ideological reflexes, we must regard the emergence of left or right dogmatism as a real danger, and such endeavors have already been present also in the debates on the substantive questions of the plan and the market, ownership, economic reform, and social restratification.

Earlier it was obvious that, whenever a stratum found itself in a socially, economically or culturally threatened situation, we were able to relieve such tensions even in the short term, by putting in place new principles and instruments of economic policy. In the 1960's, we were able to incorporate in our economic policy a principle of the policy of consensus, one that often was able to assert itself only moderately since it was based on a rising (albeit at moderate rates) standard of living: that every stratum shared in the results of our development and economic growth, and therefore had an interest in overall social and economic development, in the unfolding of economic and political consolidation. In the late 1970's, we recognized that this attitude could not be maintained under the changed conditions, because the state of the Hungarian economy did not make that possible. Indeed, the financing of the resulting losses could be solved only at the price of increasingly serious disequilibrium and accelerating growth of our indebtedness, and it necessitated the introduction of a restrictive economic policy whose constraints seem boundless in both space and time.

At the same time, the reconciliation of interests in this situation—with the contradictions that have evolved in the mechanisms by which the individual strata represent their interests, without clear objectives, and amidst less favorable economic conditions—could create tensions which are still difficult to foresee at present. Or as another way of putting it: we lack at present the opportunities and tools of economic and social-welfare policy to relieve the social tensions of the individual social strata in the short term, while in the long term also the opportunities of these policies to reconcile the interests of individual strata are not sufficiently clear. Consensus has changed in some respects. The earlier practice that permitted most strata to assert their interests has now changed to the practice of taxing most strata, generating unease and mistrust within society.

Since the second half of the 1970's we are able to sense increasingly that social disadvantage is based on the social sector's dysfunctions, on its "economic disadvantage," which our ideological general awareness tends to perceive as the devaluation of the regular hours of work. The devaluation of the first 8 hours is not simply a question of wage policy. In one respect it shows that prices and wages in Hungary today are not functioning in accordance with the market mechanisms but are tools of the mechanism of distribution. Thus different laws apply where market forces determine both prices and wages. The inflation or contradiction that earnings for the same type of work and same performance may be several times higher than in the socialist sector, depending solely on the form of organization, also shows that the spheres outside the socialist sector may be arousing the antagonism of wide social strata because the unequal opportunity to earn income is based not on the outcome of actual competition, on productivity, but on the socialist sector's dysfunctions. These contradictions can be resolved only on the basis of a set of long-term social objectives. Two examples come to mind. One is that wage policy is linked to distribution rather than to

performance; in other words, it is linked to the interests associated with maintaining the stocks of goods and purchasing power in equilibrium. From which it also follows that we want to control the outflow of purchasing power that is not in the nature of wages, by taxing the enterprise workers' business partnerships more heavily; yet these partnerships are the forms of entrepreneurship that are unable to pass on their costs to the consumer, and at the same time they are practically the only forms of entrepreneurship for industrial workers. And if we analyze the new tax proposals from this point of view, then the progressive tax rates in the individual income brackets, and inflation, will increase the direct and indirect burdens primarily of the wage-earning and salaried strata. Without wishing to dispute here the economic sense of the new tax reform, I am obliged to fault the lack of time needed to carefully consider the tax reform's social impact, and the inadequate elaboration of the tax reform's social-policy objectives.

Questions That Must Be Reconsidered

Earlier I emphasized that in Hungary today there exists an asymmetry between the institutions for the assertion of interests and pluralistic structures of interests, and that the trade unions must find their own tasks amidst this asymmetry. In my opinion, the most important feature of this search is, on the one hand, the regulation—or perhaps reorganization—of the relationship between the trade unions and other interest-representing structures; and on the other hand, the internal political restructuring of the trade unions. Regarding the former: lately—in a situation resulting from the development of the system of political institutions for the assertion of interests, from the reformulation of the expectations set for the individual institutions, and from the pluralism of institutions—it has become necessary to analyze the trade union's particular place within the structure of society's openness.

We have to reformulate trade-union policy not only dogmatically as "dependence from above," but also in the sense of "pressure from below." The first, essential condition of such reformulation is to declare that the trade unions' entire policy and its strategic elements cannot be interpreted as a mechanically composed picture of the individual partial policies. To the contrary, the trade unions' individual partial policies and tactical measures may follow only from an original alternative of social-welfare and economic policy, formulated in cooperation with the party and government, as consistent tactical measures of a particular alternative strategy. The individual "partial policies" stem from this political function of representing the interests of the trade unions' widespread membership. No headway can be made in the individual partial policies alone, because we have to answer the following question: On issues of the policies on interest representation, social welfare, wages, prices, education and employment, do the trade unions have a particular, specific scope of tasks within the framework of entire society's general tasks, or does their particular scope of tasks follow from an alternative standpoint on social-welfare and economic policy, a standpoint that expresses the trade-union movement's interests?

Through their representation of interests, the trade unions' alternative social-welfare and economic policy is not in antagonistic contradiction with the interests of society as a whole, but it is able to regard only from the viewpoint of its own interests the short-term measures of economic, social-welfare, employment, etc. policies. If the representation of interests by the trade unions becomes blurred, then the trade-union movement is unable to formulate its own tasks within the structure of entire society's or the entire nation's interests, and to reconcile its own tasks with the pluralistic structure of interests. Reassessment requires that the trade unions carefully rethink their long-term representation of interests also in their social-stratum policy. The structures from which the trade unions' earlier social-stratum policy stemmed (namely the industrial and enterprise structures) require rethinking in the wake of the restructuring of the economy and society. Society's structures of interests are becoming pluralistic and are making themselves felt within enterprises as well as within industries. But as evident also from the February 1987 plenum of the SZOT, the pluralistic structures of interests are making themselves felt—in conjunction with the reform of political institutions—in the trade-union mechanism's systems of interest representation, election and control as well. The broadening of trade-union democracy, the changing of the systems of election and control, and the reversal of incentives so that the elected officials are also financially dependent on their constituents, are closely interrelated with, and hence inseparable from, rethinking the trade unions' place, functions and strategy within the system of political institutions.

1014

CSO: 2500/420

OPZZ CRITICAL OF PROPOSED LABOR CODE AMENDMENTS

26000751c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 July 87 p 7

[Unattributed article: "Is the Law or Its Application Imperfect?"]

[Text] The special inter-branch union Commission on the Revision of the Labor Code has formulated its numerous observations and opinions as synthetic conclusions, which it presented to journalists on Thursday, and it has sent them to the All-Polish Convention of Labor Unions through 120 union organizations and individuals. These extensive materials and the course of the earlier discussion on the "Premises for Changing the Labor Code" allowed the union to formulate its stand on the proposed changes in the labor plan, which will be the subject of the next meeting of the Executive Committee of the Convention.

"The union's reservations," Stanislaw Bar (deputy chairman of the Convention) stated, "result from the fact that the vast majority of the proposed changes in the labor code do not take into account or are even contradictory with the resolution of the Congress of the Reborn Trade Unions." In opposing any restrictions of the workers rights, the unions have a rich set of arguments. They argue that suggestions that the state is overly protective of the workers, which the revisions of the code are to avoid, find no support in practice. Such revisions, however, can lead to an excess of protection for the enterprises at the cost of the workers' rights.

The unions' specialists on the labor code are concerned by another calculation: for every 10 propositions for disciplining workers there is only one strengthening the place of good work. They also do not trust the role of the law itself; they think that the fetish of legal norms will not liberate the workers' actions and entrepreneurship which is essential in the new economic conditions.

"The premises of the changes in the labor code," the unionists continue, "are an unsuccessful attempt to alleviate the situation legally without actually removing its causes that lie in the economy; the result can be the reverse of the one expected. This could lead to an increase in disregard for the labor code and thus in its effectiveness."

This way of thinking leads to the question: Is the current code genuinely bad? The unionists believe it does not interfere with the effective management of an enterprise. The labor code is not to blame for the bad practices in the workplaces, but its inept application or even the failure to observe it are.

The unionists believe the proposed revisions in the labor code which will be submitted for consultation to the union units will take into account their recommendations.

13021

SUMMARY OF PUBLISHED PROCEEDINGS OF CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL

26000751d Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 Jul 87 p 5

[Unattributed report: "From Diagnosis to Action"]

[Text] A special issue of the weekly RADA NARODOWA has appeared that includes a stenograph of the third meeting of the Consultative Council under the chairman of the Council of State; the meeting was held on 18 May 1987.

The central subject of the several hours of discussion was the study titled "From Diagnosis to Action" prepared by Prof Jan Szczepanski, which the members of the Consultative Council had received earlier.

The individual chapters cover topics such as: the individuals and his importance in society, the role of the family, home economics and its importance, the farm family and its farm, the importance of the enterprises, the state and its administration, the party, possible roles for the church. The author drew several important conclusions from these detailed materials. These are a few of them:

a) Society has a reserve of popular wisdom and common sense that must be used. But in order to use it, we must transform the state and the economy and then other levels, simplifying and activating them.

b) The most important of the brakes on development is the creation of a "bureaucratic society," in which each initiative depends on the imagination and the interpretation of the regulations by bureaucrats, who, given the best intentions, will not depart from their patterns.

c) In Poland there are many enterprises, many farms--socialized and private--that are paragons of outstanding achievement in economic performance. There are large numbers of activists, important reserves of entrepreneurship and initiative, readiness to act sensibly and usefully, especially among the young and the younger portions of society.

These factors can be used to create a vanguard of advancement by giving them the legal foundations to act, by freeing them from the cramping control of the administration. By giving them the ability to take care of their own affairs.

d) The general directive: we must adapt the socialist economy to the needs and aspirations of the people who work in it and ensure that these aspirations are met through intense, productive work.

Twelve members of the council participated in the discussion. The record of their comments covers more than 200 typed pages. It is impossible to present all of the themes in a short review; so we will present only a few of the most frequently repeated ones.

As usual the discussion was preceded by a report by W. Jaruzelski on the steps taken in accord with the recommendations, comments, and observations raised at the previous meeting. The chairman of the Council of State recalled that there were nearly 70 items touching on nearly all areas of social and economic life, including the operation of the state, the legal system, social issues, problems of education, science, and training; social pathology, etc. All the recommendations, regardless of the degree of their complexity, reality, or justification, W. Jaruzelski said, had become stimuli for concrete actions or for further analysis and scientific study which the government, the ministers, the commissions of the Council of State, the general prosecutor and other units had undertaken.

The answers and detailed explanations concerning the comments and recommendations made by the members of the Consultative Council are available to them in the Office of the Chairman of the Council of State.

The understanding of the national interest, the awakening of the public's ability to act, the mutual interaction of the state and society, the individual and society were the first group of problems raised during the discussion.

"It is not because the state was incapable of handling something that we must activate social forces, that we must open participation and responsibility for the fate of the state to the citizens," said Prof Anna Przeclawska (unaffiliated). "It is only because the citizens or the state versus society is in a rhetorical sense basically a false opposition. And it causes a whole series of errors, which lie in the past and which more than once, at present too, still bother us."

Prof Jan Baszkiewicz (PZPR), made the following observations, among others, in his statement: "Appeals to the authorities for bolder, more energetic reform appear. I believe that these appeals are justified. I do not wish to repeat them, but I do want to address my appeal in another direction. Namely to those among you who have influence over not insignificant social groups that are still on the sidelines of the repair of the Republic, watching it. I want to repeat the trivial truth that the more solid, the broader their social support, the bolder, the more energetic the reforms can be."

In broader comments on what socialism should be in Poland today, Prof Grzegorz Bialkowski (unaffiliated) included the following statements: "There is a social law that says there is no responsibility without rights and there also are no rights without responsibility. Thus, if it comes to a reduction in the right to decide there must also be a reduction in the sense of responsibility

for certain steps and acts. And as a result one expects the state, the custodial state, to take responsibility for some elements of social life. There is here an unwritten contract," G. Bialkowski continued, "that we cease to care about certain things and that we count on them being resolved by the legal and political system under which we live. The state is not meeting these expectations. And I would say that in this way the citizens feel they have been relieved of the responsibility of meeting their obligations. I believe that this is the heart of our economic, political, and social crisis."

Prof Janusz Tymowski (unaffiliated), however, in his evaluation of the social reality has reached the following conclusion. "At present the general morale of society is very low. One watches his own interests well, but one completely undervalues the general interest. This means that everyone knows his own rights, but no one wants to hear about obligations." In the remainder of his comments J. Tymowski commented: "It seems to me that the way out is showing greater trust in people, decentralization of decisionmaking and insistently demanding individual responsibility and joining the interests of the workers with the interests of the enterprise. The enterprises cannot produce losses, while the people receive wages for a 14th month. Now, there is absolutely no sense of personal responsibility for the work one does."

Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki (unaffiliated) also devoted some time to this problem in his extensive remarks. Among other things he said, "One must give society the opportunity to act. One must release society from its artificially maintained childhood and cease holding its hand so that it might quietly do what the state authorities order it to do." Continuing this thought, attorney Sila-Nowicki also said: "Now one must aim not only at the disintegration of society but to win society over, to awakening activeness. For whatever one says about the period of union pluralism in Poland, that period was one of social activeness of which we cannot even dream now, which now is fantastic... The danger for the state is inertia, unwillingness, immobility in society; there is no soldier to fight as I said at the first meeting. It is easier to disintegrate, smash to pieces, destroy than to win over social forces. And the state must win over these social forces."

The variety of worldviews in Polish society, the multiple motivations frequently for the same basic values was the next group of problems noted in the discussion. Nearly all of the participants referred to this issue. Prof Janusz Kuczynski (unaffiliated), mentioning the thesis proposed in many Western studies that Poland is the home of the Christian-Marxist dialogue, said: "At present, however, we can go further maintaining and developing all the values of dialogue as mutual recognition. We can aim toward the stage of social and cultural reconciliation. Toward a social unity in face of common threats. Joining together our common social hopes. Once this was a widely recognized practice, for example in the common, national unity in the struggle against fascism. Today it is no less a practical necessity, but given our cognitive and historical experiences, it ought to be based on a significantly deeper theory, on full self-knowledge." Postulating, in order to take advantage of this variety of worldviews as a strength of our society, Prof J. Kuczynski stated this important conclusion: "Socialism is in order with incomparably greater opportunities generally for society, opportunities for the greatest imaginable acceleration of the development of the whole of

society, including equal opportunity for all individuals. However," he also warned, "primarily or even perhaps 'only' opportunity. For realization requires consciousness of the objective and complete use of the subjective factors of economic efficiency."

Given the multiple worldviews present among the Polish people the participants drew conclusions defining the principles of cooperation between the state and church. Thus Prof Andrzej Swiecicki (unaffiliated) commented: "In the area of human work both the church and the socialists assign similar positive meaning to the term socialization....The church is interested in socialization, especially in the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World. The state propounds socialism. The common attribute of both views is the value assigned to the community of individuals, to association, to the creation of various forms of social bonds."

"The church's bond with the nation," said Prof Krzysztof Skubiszewski (unaffiliated), "(I emphasize: in the current situation, which can change during the course of events) gives the church a variety of tasks. Questioning them, it seems to me, is useless. What the church says to society is powerfully rooted in political reality, although it does not allow long-term postulates to disappear from view. But the church does not want to create and is not creating a policy that competes with the one currently being pursued by the governing party and the political system based on that party in Poland. These special tasks reduce to functions that no one other than the church in society or the nation can perform in the Poland of today. This involves," K. Skubiszewski emphasized, "speaking to the state in certain unusual circumstances. Next, speaking up for individuals who have been wronged, without however entering the political arena. Further a variety of actions in intellectual and cultural life, educational actions, broader material aid than the normal charitable functions of the church, especially in view of the gifts that have come to Poland from abroad in recent years."

"It appears to me," Prof A. Przecławski said, "that if we speak not so much about searches within the sphere of doctrinal Marxist-Christian discussion, but about searches in the sphere of contemporary moral values, about the creation of a coalition of people of good will, then cooperation between the church and the state would broaden and give a deeper character to what we call the Polish experiment in this area."

Prof Czesław Bobrowski (unaffiliated) presented some reservations: "For many the frustrating factor is the fear of only a brief period of proper relations with the church. It seems to me that action to isolate the ideological dispute or ideological differences from agreements on pragmatic problems of our epoch can be achieved and that is significant, perhaps crucially."

The creation of social conditions to release the initiative of individuals and professional groups, economic equilibrium, and the comprehensiveness of the reforms as a foundation of the modern development of Poland also constitute a significant group of problems that were repeated frequently during the discussion. Given the whole variety of proposals and the openness of the discussion nearly all the speakers concentrated on calling for concreteness, pragmatism, on ensuring the implementation of the assigned tasks. Much was

said of the need to unblock social activeness, to liberate innovative forces. For example, Prof Adam Zielinski (PZPR) said: "We are best at diagnosis. Sometimes I have the impression that some of our specialists have ready diagnoses not only for Poland but also for many other countries and regions of the world. We are somewhat worse at recommendations. With plans for implementation things are decidedly worse, while implementation itself is perfectly terrible."

After making a broad analysis of the needs of our economy, Prof Wladyslaw Baka (PZPR) noted during the discussion: "Without a doubt it is clear that at present the problem of the role of money has become basic. The more I penetrate the operation of the economic mechanisms, the more convinced I become that without clearing up the money issue we will make no progress. We will master neither the efficiency problems nor the problems of transforming the structure of the economy, nor stabilize it. The importance of money is not only economic but also psychological and socio-political....A shift to the principle of solid money means that we have rejected all automatisms and have decided on a policy to adapt wage increases to actual supplies of goods and services. Who is capable of taking up such a battle? The matter is very difficult and thus I believe that in taking up this issue it is unusually important to establish what social groups would be affected and how they would be affected by this policy, by this new monetary policy, and next how this relates to the interests of society as a whole."

Asking himself and the other participants whether someone should not prepare a study titled "From Diagnosis to Therapy," Prof Witold Benedyktowicz (unaffiliated) commented: "It seems to me that we would find many encouraging, convincing examples of areas of Polish life where the crisis has not proven to be omnipotent, segments of life where rational actions and principles inherited from our tradition still operate. As I listen to statements on the crisis or the tone of the national discussion, I have the impression that we do not see these things. We have many committees and many institutions. I would like to initiate the formation of a committee to study the non-crisis areas. Perhaps we would convince ourselves that there are more such islands, such areas not attacked by the crisis....I recall a conversation with a high-ranking army officer. We were complaining about the postal service. He said that there are still two areas in Poland functioning well: the army and the church."

Summarizing the deliberation of the third meeting of the Consultative Council, W. Jaruzelski said, among other things: "How much must have changed in Poland so that here, in this place, among these people, in this manner, it is possible to conduct this one in our series of discussions. It is probably sufficient reason for a prudent, sober optimism...."

The concluding remarks of the chairman of the Council of State included, among others, the following crucial comments:

"The discussion exposed the complexity of the problems with which we are dealing. It also made evident that the differing evaluations of events and phenomena, differing classifications of their sources and effects, differing

views of the importance and hierarchy of needs do not weaken the general agreement on our intentions and goals."

"We must examine the current economic, demographic, and other realities. Our knowledge of them, unfortunately, is insufficient."

"It would be worthwhile making the basic state decisions better known. We would not have to "force open an open door," and we could concentrate on the currently most difficult issues, on the most important and pressing tasks. We could more deeply analyze the causes of the still overly slow implementation, its incomplete effectiveness, consider what to do to make the mentioned mechanisms work better."

"We must learn to address the opinions and demands more precisely, to search for the appropriate addresses at all levels, not just at the so-called top."

"You expressed differing opinions about the opposition. This concept has unnecessarily been given an exclusively pejorative meaning. I believe that we have simply become entangled in this concept. In principle, each of us is an oppositionist, each wants to change something, to solve something, to criticize something. But today's meeting best exemplifies criticism, far-reaching criticism."

"In Poland the cooperation of the state with the church has an historical, not a temporary, situational or tactical dimension. We are expressing this clearly, at nearly every step we prove that this is the case."

"I trust that efforts to cooperate will dominate. And on a broad plane. The church has extensive influence over society. We should use it better to heal many areas of social and economic life. This would constitute the most believable confirmation that cooperation is genuinely useful and effective, that it offers an opportunity to mobilize the moral forces, that it serves our country well."

The discussion begun at the May meeting of the Consultative Commission was continued at the fourth meeting in July 1987. An agency report has appeared. The stenograph will be published in the next special issue of RADA NA¹ODOWA.

13021

BRIEFS

SOVIET FILM 'REPENTENCE' PREMIERES --On 30 July the Polish premiere of the acclaimed film "Repentance" directed by the Georgian director Tengiz Abuladze took place in Warsaw at the House of Friendship. This film, which takes place in a fictional world, is a criticism of the Stalinist period; after being withheld from distribution for several years, it was taken off the shelf as part of the transformation occurring within the USSR. [Text] [26000751a Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 Jul 87 p 1] 13021

ON REPORTING OF ACCIDENTS--Prof Dr Bogdan Michalski, a specialist in journalism law at Warsaw University; reflections after the catastrophe of the IL-62M: "There follows a practical conclusion about the press's actions during unusual events, like natural catastrophes, catastrophes, etc. It seems necessary to promulgate appropriate regulations establishing the rights of the order officials and other offices with respect to journalists. If reporters are not obviously interfering with efforts to save lives, they should not be removed from the scene of events.... There should also be a regulation prohibiting the forbidding of disseminating information to journalists by employees affected by or in any way associated with the natural catastrophe, catastrophe, etc. The promulgation of even a recommendation of a blockade of information has no legal foundation in the current press law...reducing journalists to private detectives, even given their best intentions to inform society, will lead to no good." [Text] [26000751b Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 29, 18 Jul 87 p 2] 13021

WEST GERMAN SOURCE REVIEWS 1986 FOREIGN POLICY

Munich SUEDOST EUROPA in German Jan 87 pp 1-9

[Article by Dionisie Gherman]

[Text] The extent of Romanian diplomatic activities, already greatly reduced in the first half of the eighties compared to previous years, diminished again considerably in 1986. Whereas between 1965 and 1980 hardly a day went by when Party Chief and President Nicolae Ceausescu did not receive at least one foreign top politician or one foreign delegation, the number of such events was reduced last year to a few dozen. And it is not only their number but also their importance that cannot be compared with that of the visitors of past years.

The typical characteristics of the Romanian diplomatic year 1986 can be summarized as follows:

1. Western politicians of international stature no longer traveled to Bucharest. The most important Western delegation that paid an official visit to Bucharest came from Luxembourg; it consisted of members of this country's Christian Democratic Party and was led by Jean Spautz. It met with Ceausescu on 23 September [1].
2. Nor did visitors from the Third World come in as great numbers as before. In addition, most of those who did come did not stop in Bucharest exclusively but rather visited Romania during more extensive trips that took them to several countries in the area.
3. The same is true of top functionaries of non-governing Communist parties who visited Ceausescu in 1986. The most important representatives of these parties displayed deliberate reluctance toward Bucharest. Thus it appears that the times are definitely past when highranking representatives of the communist parties of Italy or Spain conferred with Ceausescu several times a year in order to determine a joint strategy in dealing with Moscow's claims to primacy. This does by no means happen because the "Eurocommunists'" priority list has changed but primarily because in Rome and Madrid a subordinate political role is now attributed to the Romanian CP and its leader.

4. The fact that in 1986 Ceausescu did not travel to non-communist countries was obviously not caused by his allegedly poor health. The fact is that important countries did not invite him and he evidently did not want to travel to less important countries. In the second half of the sixties and especially during the seventies and even in the beginning of the eighties Ceausescu used to take extensive trips abroad, often several times a year.

A Diplomacy of Oratory

In 1986 therefore Ceausescu had to limit himself to conducting foreign policy primarily from his desk or his speaker's podium. Countless times, practically in all of his speeches, he appealed to governments and the international public to reduce arms and agree to an unconditional policy of peace. Neither the contents of his appeals were new nor his conduct as a "teacher of the world" giving advice in every direction; the only change was an increase in the intensity of his appeals. And as in years past "the leader", as Ceausescu likes to be called by his followers and in the Romanian media, did not find any fault with repeating in a stereotype way well-known phrases and thoughts. To those he addressed Ceausescu described himself as the architect of a universal order of peace that was to be established, as the kind of unique historical phenomenon that simply needs to be followed in order to solve all acute crises of international politics for once and all.

The essential concepts of Romanian foreign policy after Reykjavik are contained in a speech given by Ceausescu on 23 October 1986 before the "Great National Assembly."

In the speech Ceausescu repeated that Romania continues to work toward the "development of cooperative relations with all countries in the world" and this is shown by, among other things, the fact that Bucharest has diplomatic and economic relations with 115 countries. These relations are based without exception on full equal rights of all countries, national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of another country, and mutual advantage. At the same time the speaker pointed out that through its total international activity Romania "makes an important contribution toward upholding these principles."

The high grade of self-esteem of the Romanian CP leadership can be judged from the following excerpts:

The Romanian Socialist Republic considers it necessary to proceed immediately with a radical reduction of conventional arms arsenals so that at least 50 percent of them will be eliminated by the year 2000...From the high podium of the Great National Assembly I make in the name of our entire country a solemn appeal to all European countries as well as to the United States and Canada to reduce unilaterally their arms inventories and armament production expenses by 5 percent...Romania believes in general that on the basis of new realities a new, courageous way to deal with the problems of...disarmament, peace and cooperation...is needed...We demand the conclusion of the Vienna Conference for the reduction of European armed forces within the shortest possible time...With the greatest emphasis we also demand the termination of all armed conflicts in the various parts of the world [2].

In his speech Ceausescu also pointed out that all international conflicts can be solved in peaceful ways--perhaps through bilateral negotiations or through mediation by third parties. But these and similar sounding pronouncements of the Romanian party chief and president were of interest only in as much as through them Ceausescu underlined again that his basic attitude toward foreign policy questions or Romania's position in world politics has not changed one bit, even in nuances, since Gorbachev became chairman of the CPSU.

Self-Adulation for Internal Consumption

In the late fall of 1986 the foreign policy weekly LUMEA summarized in a series of articles the dithyrambic reports and commentaries of the other media on Ceasusescu's speech in order to make palatable to readers interested in foreign policy the "leader's" "program-oriented ideas" contained in the speech. In spite of the scientific veneer of these articles, their conclusions and phrases are in no way different from those of the newspaper articles. As could be expected, LUMEA too could not forego the duty of catering appropriately to the personality cult around Ceausescu.

Foreign policy commentator Stefan Carje, for instance, stated in his article in which he laboriously paraphrases Ceausescu's ideas that Ceausescu had made a "masterful" speech before the Great National Assembly. The focal point of the speech was Ceausescu's realization that dialogues between countries are the only morally and politically justifiable way to solve conflicts [3]. Carje's homage must be considered the more surprising if one considers that Ceausescu has repeated this realization continuously for nearly two decades and has proclaimed it at least ten times in 1986 alone.

In a feature article published by LUMEA immediately after session of the Great National Assembly an anonymous author used the following words to praise the special merits of Ceausescu's speech:

Expressing the high sense of responsibility for the destiny of humanity, this speech dealing with Romanian foreign policy emphasized the most important goals and actions of our country in this field. [These goals and actions reflect] the thoughts and initiatives of the President of Romania in regard to the outstanding problems of the present, the nature of the era in which we live, and the most basic coordinating factors of international life. As an essentially scientific analysis of the developments of world politics [this speech] can present conclusions of the greatest theoretical importance...about the confrontation between the two diametrically opposite tendencies, [the peaceful and the aggressive one]...President Ceausescu's appeal...finds these days a broad response in the conscience of the people of Romania and the world...His challenge to coordinate all efforts and try to play a key role in the development of peace...was made in the name of a free people that is conscious of its responsibility, and is directed toward all the peoples of Europe and the entire world. [4]

The tone for this characterization, that might well surpass all limits of hyperbolic self-esteem, was set by the Great National Assembly itself when it decided unanimously to adopt Ceausescu's speech as a sort of guideline of its political-moral aspirations and legislative programs. This decision, published in the official record, contains the following sentences, among others:

The Great National Assembly expresses the highest esteem for the masterful speech of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu...and unanimously adopts the ideas in it that show the greatest theoretical and practical content...

The Great National Assembly of the Romanian Socialist Republic expresses its full appreciation of, and agreement with, the foreign policy of the country that was conceived and executed brilliantly by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian CP and president of the Romanian Socialist Republic, an authentic exponent of the basic interests of the Romanian people, an outstanding personality of history, a tireless fighter for the realization of the great ideals of peace, security and international cooperation as well as an ardent activist in developing a better and juster world on our planet...[5]

Idleness and Activity

In 1986 hardly a month went by in which Ceausescu did not offer to the world public his well-known visions and solution proposals, inexpensive and unasked for. He did so each time with much pathos and as a matter of course, and Romania's media made an effort to create with readers, radio listeners and television watchers the impression that each one of these appeals has meant another step forward in solving the problem of peace.

On 28 March 1986 the national council of the "Front for Democracy and Socialist Unity" launched a "Declaration Appeal" conceived by its chairman, Ceausescu, and addressed to all parties and democratic organizations, governments, Europeans, peoples of the United States of America, Canada and the other continents.

The people addressed were asked to halt the dangerous course of international events and turn toward relationships of detente, disarmament and understanding.

Romanian media called this action a new and brilliant initiative of President Nicolae Ceausescu and, at the same time, an eloquent expression of his high sense of responsibility for the fate of mankind and the peaceful future of the peoples of the world. [6]

And only a few days later, on 1-2 April, the CC plenum adopted at Ceausescu's suggestion a document "on the international activity of the party and country in 1985 and on the most important goals for 1986" which emphasized the concrete theoretical and actual contribution of Socialist Romania and its president to a just and efficient solution of the great problems of the present and to the promotion of progress and peace in the world. [7]

On 4 April the Great National Assembly passed, for the first time in 1986, a declaration about "the international year of peace" which the media called a "moving appeal to action for the end of arms production, disarmament, the creation of a world without arms and war." It was pointed out that this declaration expresses the unshakable desire of the Romanian people for peace and cooperation as well as the broad international recognition given to the president of the Romanian Socialist Republic, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. [8]

Only one week later the CC Plenum of the Young Communists (UTC) expressed by telegram its high praise of Nicolae Ceausescu and assured him of the "great esteem, deep gratitude, ardent love and high appreciation" felt for him by the entire Romanian youth. The message said that Ceausescu deserves special credit for his outstanding activities...for the well-being and happiness of the people, for the cause of socialism and peace as well as for the development of a better and more equitable world on our planet.

The Communist Youth Organization likewise adopted this declaration. [9]

And finally the General Association of Trade Unions also adopted the same declaration at the end of April. [10]

Afterwards Ceausescu used the following events to direct appeals of admonition and instruction to the world public: On 8 May in the form of a once again "masterful speech" on the 65th anniversary of the founding of the Romanian CP [11], on 29 June at the opening of the new "Palace of Pioneers" [12], on 1 September in a greeting to the 8th summit conference of nonaligned countries in Harare [13], on 18 September in a letter to the international seminar "Youth and Peace" in Costinesti [14], on 27 September in a position paper that was read at the UN plenary session in New York [15], and on 22 October during the plenary meeting of the RCP CC. [16]

Summit Diplomacy on an Economy Burner

In keeping with his practice of two decades Ceausescu monopolized also in 1986 not only the so-called theoretical basis of Romanian foreign policy but he also carried on diplomacy almost single-handed. Foreign policy contacts, negotiations, conferences between lower-level officials do not count in the eyes of the Romanian party chief and president because he thinks of the entire party and government apparatus as his extended arm which accepts and enacts orders. Just as in all other areas of Romanian public life there is in foreign policy too no form of free determination outside the ruling Mr and Mrs Ceausescu who claim to bear sole responsibility for the country's destiny.

In 1986 however neither Party Chief and President Ceausescu nor his wife Elena, who is in charge of the scientific-cultural sector, had to work too hard to do justice to their self-imposed diplomatic duties. With one exception--leading personalities from the USSR [17]--contacts with top functionaries from Warsaw Pact countries were scarce even by Romanian standards. Other summit contacts were not numerous either and because of the mostly small importance of the visitors these contacts could certainly not satisfy Ceausescu's ambition to demonstrate a universal presence.

Ceausescu's summit conferences of last year can be divided into two groups: political leaders who are members of governments and communist leaders of non-governing parties. Ceausescu also met with a few top politicians who fall in neither category.

Beside Jean Spautz, the president of Luxembourg's Christian Democrats. Ceausescu received in 1986 Najma Nepullah [18], secretary general of the Indian National Party, Ranasinghe Premadasa [19], prime minister of Sri Lanka, Turgut Oezal [20], prime minister of Turkey, Eml Mworoha [21], parliament president of Burundi, Maung Maung Kha [22], prime minister of Burma, Ali Yata [23], secretary general of the Moroccan Party for Progress and Socialism, Samuel Kanyon Doe [24], president of Liberia, and Hosni Mubarak [25], president of Egypt. Ceausescu's meeting with Oezal may have been of some interest. In February 1986 Turkish Foreign Minister Vahit Halefoglu had explained before the parliament of his country that Ceausescu, at his meeting with Prime Minister Oezal on 28 December 1985, had expressed his willingness to mediate between Ankara and Sofia in matters of the bulgarization of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria. [26] Todor Zhivkov was then the only Eastern European party chief besides Michail Gorbachev to meet with Ceausescu [27], but not until the end of the year. For two decades the two communist leaders used to meet several times a year even in times when Romania's relation with its allies had reached a low point.

Regardless of Ceausescu's dramatic drop in prestige in the eyes of the world public, the Romanian party chief and president nevertheless still tries his hand as mediator as he did in the seventies--and then with several spectacular successes. Only the Near East where he traditionally retains close contacts with local politicians has now remained his field of activity. At his meetings with Oezal and Mubarak, where other matters were at stake, the Near East question was also mentioned.

Ceausescu could discuss the Near East question directly at the following meetings: on 8 and 9 February he received PLO Chief Yasser Arafat [28] who in former times used to visit him four to five times a year. To this day Ceausescu is trying to bring about a dialog between Arafat and "moderate" Israelis or representatives of Jewish organizations from the United States with whom he also has close contacts. On 6 and 7 June Lebanon's President Amin Gemayel visited Ceausescu. [29] He was followed by Druse leader Walid Jumblatt who had been invited by the CC of the RCP. [30] And at the end of the summer Yasser Arafat visited Ceausescu once again in order to discuss with him "ongoing Near East problems." [31]

The following top functionaries of non-governing communist parties visited Ceausescu in 1986: Jorge der Pardo, secretary general of Peru's CP (24 April); Aristides Maria Pereira, secretary general of the "African Independence Party" from the Cape Verde Islands (23-26 June); William Kashtan, secretary general

of Canada's CP (30 July); Mouhammed Harmel, secretary general of the Tunesian CP (also on 30 July); Giocondo Dias, secretary general of the Brazilian CP (16 September); Meir Vilner, secretary general of the Israeli CP (also 16 September); Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese CP (23 October) and Guy Daminthe, secretary general of the CP of Guadeloupe (28 October).

Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu, who visited Bucharest in September, was considered by Ceausescu, because of his "progressive image", not a Western politician or even an exponent of a NATO country. In the past year Bucharest has pursued, discretely but with accustomed determination, its goal to forge the Balkan region into a kind of neutral federation with its own political identity between the two military blocs. During Ceausescu's meeting with Papandreu the Balkan question was again, beside bilateral questions, a chief conversation topic. [32] It is likely that the two politicians exchanged concrete plans in addition to the customary declarations of intent. One of the plans seems to have been that of regional disarmament because at the end of 1986 a Balkan conference was held in Bucharest where discussions took place on ways to change the peninsula to a zone free of chemical weapons. Ceausescu sent the conference participants a telegram in which he expressed his solidarity with their goal. [33]

Demonstrative Presence on the Global Diplomatic Stage

Peace appeals and suggestions of world-wide disarmament were by no means the only ways in which Bucharest in 1986 tried to give the appearance of being able to influence the course of world politics. Ceausescu also took advantage of concrete events to make his position known and underline Romania's presence in the events of world politics. A welcome opportunity presented itself in April 1986 when Washington decided to attack targets in Libya in retaliation for Muammar Qadhafi's support of world terrorism. This event was the more opportune for Bucharest the more Romania is anxious to prove its equidistance between the two superpowers. In 1986 Ceausescu had already repeatedly criticized Moscow for its less than cooperative CEMA policies.

On 15 April, immediately after the attack on Libya by American planes, Ceausescu sent a telegram to Reagan in which he took issue with this "warlike action." [34] On 17 April Ceausescu had his protest sanctioned by the permanent executive office of the National Council of the "Front for Democracy and Socialist Unity." [35] And on 18 April he had the national committee of the academic organization "Scientists and Peace" approve the "consistent position of President Nicolae Ceausescu in regard to the termination of armed actions against Libya, and for peace in the Mediterranean and the entire world." [36] It was clear however that Bucharest made an effort to use moderate language. After these interventions "in principle" Bucharest's actions abated quickly. Hereafter the Romanian media--e.g. in connection with the summit meeting in Reykjavik--treated the United States and also President Reagan with consideration, and their criticism of "star wars" and Washington's position on the disarmament question remained mild and discriminating. And in other cases too Bucharest was always anxious to appear balanced and consistent.

FOOTNOTES

1. SCINTEIA, 24 Sept 1986
2. Ibid., 24 Oct 1986
3. Dialogul se negociera--unica metoda pentru reglementarea diferendelor dintre state [Dialog and negotiation--the only method of regulating differences between countries] in: LUMEA No 46 13 Nov 1986
4. Onoua si vibranta expresie a vointei poporului roman, stralucita reafirmare a politicii externe a partidului si statului nostru [A new, moving expression of the will of the Romanian people to live in peace, a brilliant reiterated statement of the foreign policy of our party and country], in: Ibid No 44, 30 Oct 1986.
5. See also BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA No 64, part I, 27 Oct 1986, pp 3-4
6. SCINTEIA, 29 Mar 1986
7. Ibid., 3 Apr 1986
8. Ibid., 5 Apr 1986
9. Ibid., 12 Apr 1986
10. Ibid., 27 Apr 1986
11. Ibid., 9 May 1986
12. Ibid., 30 Jun 1986
13. Ibid., 2 Sep 1986
14. Ibid., 19 Sep 1986
15. Ibid., 28 Sep 1986
16. Ibid., 23 Oct 1986
17. Relations between Bucharest and Moscow will be investigated in a future article
18. SCINTEIA, 24 Apr 1986
19. Ibid., 30 Apr 1986
20. Ibid., 1 Jul 1986
21. Ibid., 24 Jul 1986
22. Ibid., 16 Aug 1986

23. Ibid., 24 Sep 1986
24. Ibid., 19 Oct 1986
25. Ibid., 15 Dec 1986
26. TURKISH REVIEW, No 52, 25 Dec 1986, p 147
27. See also LIMEA, No 52, 25 Dec 1986
28. SCANTEIA of 9 and 10 Feb 1986
29. Ibid., 7 and 8 Jun, 1986
30. Ibid., 16 Jul 1986
31. Ibid., 22 and 23 Aug 1986
32. SCINTEIA, 11 and 12 Sep 1986
33. Ibid., 24 Dec 1986
34. Ibid., 16 Apr 1986
35. Ibid., 18 Apr 1986
36. Ibid., 18 Apr 1986

8889

CSO: 2300/338

WORKER MILITIA NIGHT OPERATIONS OUTLINED

East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German Vol 31 No 6 Jun 87 pp 5-6

[Article by People's Police Captain Hunger: "Defense Actions Under Nighttime Conditions"]

[Text] During combat, the general principles of defense are applied not only in the tactical action defense mode, but also in differing forms in the military security and defense of installations, in encirclement, as well as in the interdiction or blocking of a direction of movement. The training for defense actions at night must be so organized and constituted that it is in keeping both with the operational principles and the tactical principles. Typical characteristics for actions at night include: the exploitation of darkness for protective concealment and the element of surprise, concealed maneuvers with the forces, deceiving the adversary with respect to intentions, forces, resources and the battle formation. The fire system must also be kept secret or concealed. At the same time, one must remember that targets are harder to identify and address, it is more difficult to orient oneself, and less time is available for the acquisition and engagement of targets. Possibilities for exploiting the performance parameters of the weapons are also limited and the interaction and command of units become more complex.

Utilizing the actual training status of the unit and the terrain conditions as a point of departure, the commander must define the instructional questions in precise terms and prepare all aspects of the training. The following principles must be observed in the process. Defense actions at night are prepared and organized during the day. The training should be simply organized in concept and structure. All instructors must maintain rigid control every combatant must have a high level of self-reliance. Variants to be used to surprise the adversary are to be prepared and made use of during training. Defense actions at night are to be prepared particularly thoroughly and with all material-technical aspects being considered, in keeping with the paraphernalia (personal concealment means, such as cord, newspapers for blackening the face, camouflage netting, and materials for preparing the weapons for firing at night). And, finally, all safety measures for handling weapons and decoy means are to be implemented precisely and uncompromisingly.

The instructional-methodical training with platoon and squad leaders should take place a relatively short time before combat training and at the actual scene of the action. The training sites are to be so selected that they offer favorable possibilities for orientation (establish orientation points that are also visible at night), permit concealed approach possibilities for the occupation of positions and maneuvers with forces, and offer adequate possibilities for the conduct of fire. The instructional-methodical training should concentrate on those actions which are emphasized during night training exercises, for example on:

- preparing the weapons for firing at night
- organizing the firing system and the coordination
- expedient employment of material resources.

Instructional-methodical training, is best conducted at twilight.

Instructors and combatants should be politically and ideologically prepared for the night training and have a full awareness of the near-term and long-range objective. The pedagogic and educational objective must be thoroughly explained and the demands of the training described in all aspects. A simple tactical concept is to form the basis of night training. Principles of defense in twilight are to be exercised repeatedly. The occupation of a defense position should be completed before darkness falls. In that way the combatant can become accustomed to the surroundings and take mental note of the terrain and the orientation points in his fire sector. Resoluteness and rigor of defense at night are to be achieved particularly by such measures as: securing the flanks with light machine guns, establishing additional fire sectors, integrating alternate firing positions, employing additional weapons on duty status and listening posts, maneuvering with fire and forces, as well as employing battlefield illumination means. Knowledge and action sequences acquired in other training are to be incorporated into the night combat training. The conclusion of defense actions at night should if possible be conducted as tactical training and with a realistic adversary.

What does the commander have to pay particular attention to in the defense?

- Careful selection, preparation and concealment of positions, as well as quick repair of damage to the position.
- Preparing the weapon to repel hostile forces and keeping it operational at all times.
- Attentive observation of the adversary in the assigned sector and passing reconnaissance reports to superiors immediately. Take part in the unit's fire fight when so ordered or at one's own discretion.
- Resolute defense of the position; leave it only when ordered to do so.

Tips for Defense at Night

- Use listening posts for security purposes.
- Utilize flares and signals only when so ordered. Give no light signals in the direction of the adversary and extinguish all light sources.
- Comply strictly with noise and light concealment directives and select types of movement in keeping with the terrain.
- Fasten and, if necessary, wrap personal equipment in such a way that no noise will result.
- Utilize aids for concealment of the face (soot, ashes, dirt).
- Observe the proper conduct in the illumination of the battlefield.
- Maintain constant contact with the neighboring unit and be on the lookout for signals from the superior at all times. Give orders only softly and pass them on the same way.
- Fire extended salvos (increased hit probability, the adversary is tied down to cover).

Night Variants and Factors Affecting Operations

- Dark night (new moon): The eye is of almost no help; the slightest glow of light is visible from far away; when there is no wind, sounds are clearly audible; illusions as a result of unusually shaped bushes or also ruins are possible.
- Moderately bright night (half or waning moon, as well as full moon with cloud cover): Sufficient light to enable the trained eye to recognize objects and moving persons, also in open terrain; sounds carry just as well as on a dark night; visibility exists to a certain extent up to 100 or 150 meters.
- Bright night (full moon): Relatively good visibility (even better in the summer); the eye has difficulty finding a good basis for comparison purposes; all contours stand out sharply.
- Stormy night: Hearing is increasingly difficult; moving bushes, trees and branches, wires, etc., give rise to uncertainty and illusions, vegetation in motion causes a shimmering reflection which strains the eye of the observer; in the presence of a moon, relatively good visibility is possible during breaks in the clouds.
- Rainy night: Visibility is more difficult and sounds are muffled; wetness usually affects operations adversely; freshly made tracks stand out clearly on the ground.

Wintry night (with frost but no snow): Relatively good visibility; sounds clearly audible and over long distances; cold temperatures have a negative effect on motor movements of the human being.

--Wintry night (with snow): Everything dark stands out sharply in silhouette; tracks especially well discernible; sounds are greatly dampened.

--Foggy night: Everything appears indistinct and blurred; every bush, shrub, tree, etc., fools the observer and can mislead him; hearing is more difficult.

12689/9738

CS0: 2300/333

ARTICLE: 'MAP INSTITUTE OF HUNGARIAN ARMY 40 YEARS OLD'

25000479 Budapest GEODEZIA ES KARTOGRAFIA in Hungarian No 6, 1986 pp 403-405

[Article by Dr. Rezső Berenci, lieutenant colonel, engineer]

[Excerpt]... A new generation had come onto the scene made up of experts who for decades would be principally responsible for the institute's outstanding professional and political accomplishments, and whose professional know-how and efforts have been directly instrumental in elevating the institute to its present position of high standards.

Upon completing the new survey on the 1:25,000 scale, the institute began to focus much of its resources on the preparation of basic state maps on the 1:10,000 scale, a project which it has been involved in to this day.

In the early 1960's, the international situation continued to be full of tensions and sources of conflict. The art of war had undergone a revolution one of the "accomplishments" of which was the appearance of ballistic missiles.

The task of ensuring cartographic support for these weapons was entrusted to the Hungarian geodesic service. The completion of a state-wide basic network, the designation and definition of reference points became tasks of primary importance. Naturally, the officers and civilian employees of the institute also took a significant part in this effort. The network building efforts were pursued under the professional guidance of the Budapest Geodesic and Cartographic Enterprise, but the designation of reference points was done by the geodesic department alone.

Professionally, the 1960's brought significant changes into the life of the institute. Without attempting to be complete, let us list some of the more significant of these changes:

--the introduction of new geodesic instruments (microwave and optical stadimeters, gyrotheodolites, electronic computers);

--procurement of new photogrammetric instruments (Wild A-7, Stereometrograph, etc.);

--expansion of the range of aerial photographic equipment and instruments employed;

--under an accelerated technological development program the institute developed new cartographic techniques, including the replacement of traditional map drawing with foil drawing which later gave way to the currently used etching process;

--introduction of such significant typographical innovations as the four-color print process and the preparation of colored astral composite prints;

--the development and modernization of relief-map making technologies;

--the introduction into service of the L-410 AF type aerial photography plane (which in 1977 would meet with an unfortunate accident).

And we could continue with the long list of accomplishments achieved by the creative, innovation-seeking and enterprising collective of the institute over the past few decades.

Generally speaking the commemoration of this anniversary is an occasion on which we can look back and assess our accomplishments with a sense of joy and satisfaction. I believe that we have every reason to do so. However, I still think that it is also necessary to say a few things about the present, and even more about the future.

We are witnessing the renewal and changing of the profession. The use of computer technologies require not only technical and technological changes, but also a new mentality and outlook on the part of the leaders and workers of the profession. Our tasks are changing, as are our cartographic products both in terms of content and appearance. We have to familiarize ourselves with new concepts and establish contacts with new specialized fields. The role of cooperation, both in the domestic and international spheres, is gaining growing importance. After all, these instruments not only cost more but they are also many times as efficient as the ones we have been using so far. This requires the expansion and strengthening of cooperation both in practice and in our theoretical work. Cooperation and the division of labor must also be elevated to a higher standard in our own professional field. We feel that there have been a number of examples over the past few years which we could cite to demonstrate this point. Included among them would be the

implementation of the spatial triangulation method developed by FOMI [Institute of Geodesy] as part of the new technology of map renewal on the 1:25,000 scale, and the cooperation which we have seen in the area of telesensory data processing.

But this is only the beginning which should serve as a starting point. As we know the institute is facing a period of renewal; not only will its staff have undergone a large-scale process of rejuvenation within the next few years, but also its buildings, equipment and technology. We need only to recall the earlier mentioned map renewing technology, the introduction of the ROBOTRON picture processing system, the establishment of a computer center, the modernization of our stock of typographic machinery and all the changes which these developments will entail.

In the past, too, the institute had tried hard to establish good, fruitful and usefule ties, primarily with the domestic cartographic institutions, universities and colleges. In the future this cooperation will continue to intensify.

On the occasion of the anniversary I would like to join the leaders of the institute in saying thanks to those civilian organizations, universities, enterprises and institutitons with whom we have developed good cooperation in the process of carrying out our tasks.

Naturally it would be impossible to list every event of the past 40 years in this article, or to mention everything that has been important in the life of the institute. However I hope that I have succeeded in describing the course which the institute has covered from its inception to the present, and in providing the reader with a glimpse into the future.

9379

MINISTRY STRUGGLES TO FILL EMPTY MILITARY SCHOOL SLOTS

26000758e Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 17 Jul 87 p 2

[Text] If you haven't yet made a decision, decide now! The National Defense Ministry has announced further recruiting of candidates for the following career military schools:

Higher Officer Schools

Tadeusz Kosciuszko Mechanized Forces Higher Officer School in Wroclaw;

Stefan Czarniecki Tank Corps Higher Officer School in Poznan;

Gen Jozef Bem Rocket and Artillery Corps Higher Officer School in Torun;

Col Boleslaw Kowalski Liaison Forces Higher Officer School in Zegrze, near Warsaw;

Gen Jakub Jasinski Engineering Corps Higher Officer School in Wroclaw;

Lt Mieczyslaw Kalinowski Antiaircraft Defense Forces Higher Officer School in Koszalin;

Stanislaw Ziaja Chemical Warfare Forces Higher Officer School in Krakow;

Capt Sylwester Bartosik Radiotechnical Higher Officer School in Jelenia Gora.

Ensign Schools

Billeting and Construction Ensign School in Gizycko;

Topographic Service Ensign School in Torun;

Border Guard Ensign School in Ketrzyn.

The course of study lasts 4 years in higher officer schools, and 2 years in ensign schools.

The following conditions are required of candidates:

--Polish citizenship;

--completion of high school (possession of high-school diploma for officer candidate schools);

--suitable moral and political values;

--aptitude for military service in the character of a candidate for career soldier as ascertained by decision of the appropriate Military Medical Commission;

--unmarried;

--age up to 24 years.

Candidates seeking admission to one of these schools should file an application questionnaire with the commandants of the schools chosen via the appropriate Military Recruiting Board for the city where they live, and candidates from the military should file through official channels.

Application forms may be obtained from the Military Recruiting Board or individual military headquarters. Attached to the application form must be:

--abstract of a birth certificate and certification of Polish citizenship, or in case the candidate doesn't have one, include also an identification card or temporary affidavit or identity;

--school record (original) affirming possession of the required education.

Candidates for officer school must pass an examination in high school subjects: oral, on knowledge of Poland and the contemporary world; written, on mathematics and a modern foreign language (Russian, German, French, or English).

High school graduates are accepted into ensign schools without an entrance examination.

All candidates must undergo a psychological examination and a test of physical fitness.

Further information will be furnished to interested candidates by the Military Draft Board, commanders of military units (to candidates from the military), and the commandants of professional military schools. It can also be found in information books for candidates for career military schools.

13324/12624

ARMY GROOMS LIKELY RECRUITS IN SPECIALTY SUMMER CAMPS

26000758a Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 28 Jul 87 pp 1, 5

[Article by Lt Jaroslaw Kopec: "'Soldierly' Adventure at Youth Camp"]

[Text] Patriotic-defensive education of society is a succession of important, long-term undertakings in many areas of our life. One of these is concern for preparing young people for military service. To implement these tasks there are, among others, school lessons in defense training, vacation camps, and courses in air clubs and LOK [National Defense League] centers.

One of the most interesting forms includes the experimental youth camps, organized at technical military unit bases.

At the WOW [Warsaw Military District] liaison unit, on the barracks drill square, I find at a military training camp a group of several dozen "uniformed" boys who have finished the first grade of trade school.

"The organizers of the course," says Jan Palacinski, commandant of the company, "are the Bialystok Kuratorium [superintendent's office] of Education and Upbringing and the liaison unit. During the initial training period we want to acquaint the boys with military life, drill, and regulations. We also want to discover which of them have predispositions toward performance of service in the liaison forces. The 2-week stay in the barracks might possibly yield a crop of new interests, such as electronics or short-wave radio."

The youth camp recalls the "real" military only to a minimal degree. There is more leeway here, and more recreation and sports contests. But the training loses none of its military character. Just then a new group, after finishing lessons from a political course, goes to the rifle range. They've all waited a long time for the rifle range, never mind that they'll be using sports rifles. Lessons in communications are also very popular, the finest of which is "titwa." Several, including Rafal Sanicki, Zbigniew Kalinowski, and Krzysztof Turowski, already know the entire Morse [code] alphabet.

"Opinions on the camp were divided up till now," says Rafal. "Several perhaps simply were afraid that it would be the same as in the 'real' military. Now, when we have already finished half our training period, we are a little sorry that our soldierly adventure will end so soon."

"Of course," adds Zbyszek, "up to now we have already learned to use several radio stations and the Morse [code] alphabet. We are able to tap it out on special keys, and if the instructor does it slowly, we can make out individual words and letters. I like it here, although I don't understand at all why we can't lie down on our beds when we want to. Will it be this way in the military, too?"

"I'm not afraid of the military," says Krzysiek, "and the stay here has further awakened my interest. From conversations with my colleagues I know that there are those who are thinking of further study in military school. Maybe it's right for me?"

The guardian of the youth group on behalf of the military, Maj Piotr Lapinski, is of the opinion that the organization of such a camp within the walls of the unit is not a pointless preposition. "For 14 days the boys live directly in contact with the military. The order of their day is identical with a soldier's. They also clean up and with help from Senior Ensign Wacław Krachel, take care of their assigned lodgings. Thanks to this many myths are shattered about the hardships and inconveniences of military life and service. Daily contact with military specialists allows one to learn something new and useful."

Much attention is devoted here to so-called historical-world view education. This is served by lessons on tradition, trips, and lectures. It was good that ZSMP [Socialist Polish Youth Union] members from the unit looked after the camp. The effect of their activities is the energetic camp council, which looks after youth interests. The boys certainly will remember their stay in the unit not only as drill, but also as good recreation.

13324/12624

'DEFENSE STUDIES' GROUP SEEKS MORE PUBLICITY, PLANS CONGRESS

26000758b Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Jul 87 p 5

[Text] (Own Information) A reporting-electoral campaign is taking place in Defense Studies Society [TWO] branches. The organization's 15-year achievements are being compared, new tasks are being defined, and plans for promising activities were established.

As we were informed by the TWO headquarters commissioner through the Pomeranian OW [Command], diplomatic reserve Col Michal Michalczewski, the campaign has already been completed in the voivodships of Bydgoszcz, Torun, Pila, and Wroclaw.

Besides members, representatives from the superintendent's offices for education and upbringing and the officers' clubs of LOK [National Defense League] reserve, the Association of Retired Career Soldiers, ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy], PCK [Polish Red Cross], and Voluntary Labor Corps also participated in the reporting-electoral meetings, whereas representatives from scouting were absent.

Taken up in the discussion were problems concerning various spheres of the society's activity, including duties of board members, change in the graphic make-up of TWO publications to a more attractive one, reprinting society issues on a problematic-subject layout rather than encyclopedic, and wider popularization of TWO accomplishments in the mass media.

Those most involved in TWO activities were honored with medals "For Service to the Defense Studies Society." Those receiving it included Bronislaw Lipski, Zdzislaw Kaczmarek, Bernard Majewski, Jerzy Markuszewski, and Lech Suczko.

Delegates were elected to the 3rd TWO National Congress, which will convene in the second 10-day period in November in Warsaw. Those receiving mandates included Wieslaw Kossowski, Feliks Pasieczny, Jozef Ptak, Tadeusz Jankowski, and Andrzej Potoczek.

13324/12624

BRIEFS

AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY PRODUCTION FIGURES--In June, the month which closes the first half of the year, the PZL (Polish Aviation Plant) Association of Aircraft and Motor Equipment Producers plants fulfilled planned production tasks. In June, in Polish aircraft factories, production included 24 An-2 multipurpose aircraft, 20 Mi-2 multipurpose helicopters, 2 An-28 passenger airplanes, 3 TS-11 Iskra training planes, 4 PZL-106AR Kruk agricultural aircraft, 14 gliders of various types, and also 58 ASz621R piston aircraft engines and 77 GTD-350 turbine helicopter engines. In addition, major repairs were made on 27 GTD-350 engines. [Text] [26000758c Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish 26 Jul 87 p 2] 13324/12624

FOREIGN BUYERS EYE SOKOL COPTER--Aircraft equipment users of many countries are interested in the Polish Sokol helicopter, constructed and produced by WSK PZL (Transportation Equipment Plant, Polish Aviation Plant) Swidnik. Exhibited at the International Poznan Fair in June 1987 before the PEZETEL PHZ (Foreign Trade Enterprise) pavilion, the Sokol helicopter attracted thousands of spectators by virtue of its silhouette. The Swidnik technical crew gave out comprehensive information about the Sokol and presented its equipment. This helicopter shortly will be the export visiting card of the Polish aircraft industry. Sokol is the first helicopter in the history of WSK PZL Swidnik to win a gold medal at the International Poznan Fair. [Text] [26000758d Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish 26 Jul 87 p 2] 13324/12624

CEMA PRODUCTION INTEGRATION, DEVELOPMENT EXAMINED

23000342 East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 42 No 5, May 87 (signed to press 14 Apr 87) pp 468-471

[Article by Prof Dr Willi Kunz, deputy director of the SED Central Committee's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, chairman of the Scientific Council for Questions of Socialist Economic Integration: "Integration and Intensification"]

[Text] The intensification of the various national economies increasingly represents the primary source of economic growth in the European CEMA countries. This centers on the development and application of key technologies, the consequent rapid development of highly productive working tools, the advanced processing of the raw materials and other materials used, the rapid reduction of specific materials and energy consumption, the rising efficacy of investments as well as the utilization of the various types of the socialization of production and labor.

These extensive intensification processes largely determine the qualitatively new phase in the scientific-technical and economic cooperation in socialist economic integration with the USSR and the other CEMA countries. At the Third SED Central Committee Plenum, Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized that they represent the firm foundation for the implementation of our plans.(1) At the conference with the first kreis secretaries he again underlined the fact that we are accomplishing the objectives of our economic development in close fraternal community with the Soviet Union. "We have created stable bases for the deepening of our cooperation in science, technology, production and trade--all of them permeated by the spirit of socialist internationalism."(2)

The new phase of cooperation focuses on the development and application of key technologies and the assurance of a high scientific-technical standard of our products. Some general principles arise therefrom for the management, planning and implementation of integration processes:

-- The development and introduction of key technologies requires us to measure ourselves by the highest international standards. This must be quickly reflected in the improvement of product quality and in lower manufacturing costs.

-- New products and highly productive automated technologies need to constitute a unit.

-- It is imperative to comprehensively master the interaction of key technologies, because "whenever microelectronics are used, we need to deal with new materials. Whenever new materials are used, our perceptions must range to biotechnology. Whenever we talk of biotechnology, we must necessarily consider ultra precise electronic devices based on microelectronics."(3)

One of the important tasks involved in this connection with respect to the dynamic development economic relations (in particular between the GDR and the USSR) is that of the conclusion of agreements on the development of direct relations between combines, enterprises and organizations in the GDR and associations, enterprises and organizations in the USSR.

These agreements provide new opportunities by the planned combination of the intellectual and material potentials of our countries to achieve the greatest possible growth in our national incomes, the greatest possible profits for our national economies. "For many years past, direct working relations with their partners in the USSR have worked well for our combines. It will now be necessary to use them even more effectively for, above all, the most efficient accomplishment of the targets agreed and included in our plans."(4) Direct relations must primarily be designed in briefer delays than hitherto in selected spheres to be one step ahead of top international standards. They aim for high performance growth each year, the rapid renewal of production and, ultimately, include the provision of a growing range of commodities as well as a flexible response to technical innovations.

The Complex Program of Scientific-Technological Progress of the CEMA Member Countries Through 2000 represents a basic document for the CEMA countries' implementation of standardized scientific-technological policies in key areas. The program serves the optimum utilization of the time factor, the achievement of scientific-technological top performances as well as the all-round or multiple utilization of scientific-technical results and, lastly, their economic translation into efficiency and social progress.

At the same time the CEMA member countries agreed on long-range bilateral programs for cooperation in science, technology and production through 2000. The GDR concluded such programs with all European CEMA countries. The greatest fundamental importance must be ascribed to the long-range program agreed with the USSR for cooperation to 2000 in science, technology and production. This provides both countries with a common strategy for the accomplishment of their outstanding objectives. The high standard of this cooperation is demonstrated by the fact that a reciprocal exchange of commodities to the value of more than M380 billion has also been agreed for the current 5-year plan period. No other long-term international agreement involves anywhere near such a tremendous volume.

On this basis GDR-USSR cooperation in science and technology proceeds in consideration of key issues and, therefore, increasingly emphasizes those

spheres that have a key role in scientific-technical advances and result in technical and technological top performances. By the end of 1986, a total of 33 industrial cooperation programs had been recorded between the GDR and the USSR as well as 170 government and ministerial agreements. More than 100 of the latter are concerned with the development and application of key technologies and the most modern products. "We have geared ourselves resolutely and at the proper time to comprehensive cooperation in the mastery of top technologies in microelectronics, the development and use of electronic computer equipment, CAD/CAM equipment, the latest resources of telecommunication equipment as well as interlinkage for machine construction. This also creates important preconditions for the future dynamic development of reciprocal commodity exchanges."(5)

Continuing GDR-USSR cooperation in the scientific-technological and economic sphere is being further deepened with regard to the following important spheres in particular: The development of base technologies for ultra integrated electronic circuits, special technological devices and materials for microelectronics; the development and application of electronic computer equipment as well as of CAD/CAM equipment; the use of ultra efficient metal processing equipment including laser equipment; the production of new materials, in particular in the sphere of technical ceramics, processing metallurgy and polymer chemistry; the widespread application of biotechnological processes in farming and the microbiological industry as well as the establishment of modern digital communication equipment and optical fiber transmission systems.

The two countries assume the obligation in close collaboration to develop and produce the latest storage circuits. That is of enormous importance for further advances in the field of microelectronics. Provision has therefore been made for new steps toward cooperation in the field of the training and further education of scientists and specialists as an important contribution to the handling of key technologies. In addition management cadres of the economy and science receive further training at specialized continuing education facilities in our countries as well as by direct delegation to combines and associations.

The deliveries of raw materials and other materials agreed with the USSR are of the utmost importance for supplying our national economy. These include the total GDR import requirements for natural gas, almost all the crude oil needed, significant quantities of ores, nonferrous metals, lumber, paper and chemical raw materials. It is imperative for us to produce the largest possible volume of improved products from each ton, indeed each kilogram of these raw materials and, therefore, provide a maximum contribution to the growth in output and efficiency of our national economy.

The GDR also participates in major investment projects, the construction of plant for raw materials production in the Soviet Union and transportation facilities. The natural gas pipeline from Yamburg (western Siberia) to the European CEMA countries, to come into service in 1989/1990, is the major integration project of the 1986-1990 5-Year Plan. At a length of 4,605 km, this export gas pipeline is 150 km longer than the Urengoi-Ushgorod gas

pipeline. At the present time 13,000 GDR construction and assembly workers are employed at such projects in the USSR.

The dynamics of reciprocal deliveries increasingly depends on research and production cooperation that involves almost all industries and is geared especially to the development and efficient application of modern key technologies, the production of new commodities at top world standards as well as cooperation in the production of consumer goods and food products. Taking into account the new trends in research and production cooperation between our two countries, the agreements on commodity exchanges are based on the assumption that the GDR will increase its deliveries of machines and equipment at a high scientific-technological standard and continue to improve their quality. Close cooperation in the field of microelectronics, for example, features an above average dynamism in reciprocal deliveries. Agreed programs and concrete agreements in other spheres such as machine construction and the chemical industry increasingly focus on the need for top scientific-technological standards and the intensification of production.

In addition to the stable export and import ranges that have proven reliable due to many years of international specialization and cooperation in the production of products and technologies and were backed by sound traditions (machine tool construction, ship construction, farm equipment, the production of rolling mills, chemical plant construction), the growing demand of the USSR national economy for comprehensive technical solutions is increasingly significant, specially with respect to the modernization, rationalization and automation of important sectors of Soviet industry. In this context, too, considerably more and better microelectronic products are required, and it is imperative in international specialization to further develop robot construction in order to be able on this basis to more rapidly introduce modern technologies.

Specialized products accounted for roughly half all GDR deliveries to the USSR in 1986. This percentage was even higher--more than 70 percent--in the case of cutting machine tools, cranes, plant for the textile industry, rail vehicles, ships and ships' equipment. The GDR's contribution to the fulfillment of the USSR's food and consumer goods program as well as to the development and production of industrial consumer goods is assuming increasing importance. In 1986-1990, for example, the GDR will export machinery and equipment for the Soviet agricultural-industrial complex in the amount of more than M40 billion. In the same period deliveries of consumer goods are set to grow to M33 billion compared with M23 billion in 1981-1985; they are rising faster than total GDR exports to the USSR.

Increasing research and production cooperation and the related planned development of the Soviet market for the delivery of more highly processed products require each collective in our combines and enterprises to prove itself an efficient partner of the Soviet Union and to gear itself to the growing USSR demand by turning out world standard products.

The qualitatively new phase of scientific-technological and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA member countries challenges the entire management of scientific-technological and production

facilities with the need to carry out bigger tasks. Top scientific-technological standards, quality, design and criteria such as conscientious contract fulfillment, delivery fidelity, smooth flowing replacement part supplies, a high standard of customer service in international relations among the CEMA countries assume increasing importance.

It is tremendously important to carefully take in account the changing needs of our partners, in particular the USSR--our main foreign trade partner--and to conscientiously meet the contractual obligations incurred. At the same time it will be necessary with the aid of integration measures to push ahead with extensive intensification, achieve greater efficiency and the speed-up of the economic cycle and to improve the quality and efficiency of our own work performance in the arena of international cooperation.

Consequently, as regards their political-ideological work, the party organizations in the facilities involved in integration processes must be very conscious of the requirements arising from the qualitatively new phase in cooperation. This includes the need to inform the workers about the goals and concrete demands of scientific-technological and economic cooperation with the USSR and the other fraternal countries, to regularly assess the results achieved and arrive at the necessary conclusions.

It is imperative to resolutely make sure that the highest criteria are always applied to our own contribution to the respective integration measures, and that top performances--in demand all over the world--represent the basis of our highly effective cooperation with the USSR and the other CEMA partners. Political-ideological work must see to it that we respond more flexibly to the rising demand on quality and to new requirements on our export products in the USSR and the other CEMA countries. This means that we need to motivate the collectives to total contract fidelity and the greatest possible stability in the fulfillment of existing agreements. At the same time it will be imperative to more fully utilize the reliable types of involvement of social forces, activist groups and study groups for the accomplishment of our tasks and to prepare unambiguous resolution documents laying out in detail the measures adopted and permitting strict party control.

FOOTNOTES

1. See "Aus dem Schlusswort des Genossen Erich Honecker, 3.Tagung des ZK der SED" [From the Concluding Address by Comrade Erich Honecker, Third SED CC Plenum], Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1986, p 103.
2. Erich Honecker, "Die Aufgaben der Parteiorganisationen bei der Weiteren Verwirklichung der Beschlüsse des XI.Parteitages der SED. Aus dem Referat auf der Beratung des Sekretariats des ZK der SED mit den 1.Sekretären der Kreisleitungen" [The Tasks of the Party Organizations in the Further Implementation of the Eleventh SED Party Congress Resolutions. From the Report at the Conference of the SED CC Secretariat and the First Secretaries of Kreis Leadership Organizations], Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1987, p 56.
3. "From the Concluding Address....," as before, p 98.
4. "The Tasks of the Party Organizations....," as before, p 57.
5. Ibid, p 56.

KAPOLYI ON EFFECTS OF INDUSTRIAL RESTRUCTURING

25000478b Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 1 Aug 87 p 3

[Report on press conference given by Laszlo Kapolyi, Minister of Industry: "It's Too Early to Talk About the Dangers of Unemployment"]

[Article] The short and long-term concepts of industrial restructuring and the action plan of selective industrial development were the central topics addressed by Minister of Industry Laszlo Kapolyi speaking before journalists at a news conference called at the Parliament on Friday by the Information Bureau of the Council of Ministers.

In his opening statement the minister told the journalists that during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period the government has twice been presented with ideas summing up the intermediate and long-term tasks of industrial policy. Originally the minister had been scheduled to present a report at the fall session of the National Assembly on the situation of industry, however--since in September the deputies will be preoccupied with debating the stabilizing work program of the Council of Ministers--he is not expected to speak there until the next session. Inasmuch as industry plays a vital role in the implementation of the program of socio-economic recovery, recommended industrial policy alternatives will be presented as supplements to the government's work program to be presented before the National Assembly in September. It should be mentioned that the voluminous material of the restructuring program has been the subject of debate at several professional, corporate and scientific forums.

Autonomous Work Groups

At the press conference Laszlo Kapolyi called particular attention to the systems-oriented character of the proposed program, asserting that it aimed to assess the needs, tasks and effects of industrial restructuring within the context of the given social environment. It drew a distinction between long-term and immediate goals, recognizing that the projected

--70-percent--share of manufacturing in our total industrial production could not be attained until only the second half of the 1990's.

As for the task of expanding our domestic markets, the program calls for greater differentiation. It proposes to try to broaden the selection of particularly those articles that are used by the population in the household. Without energy-efficient television sets, refrigerators and cars we cannot expect our citizens to become more economy-minded. Particularly when we consider that for years now increasing communal use has been the primary contributor to our growing energy consumption.

Speaking about current efforts aimed at restoring the status of the main job László Kapolyi assured his listeners that the program did not wish to restrict or suppress domestic business ventures. On the contrary, since it is during the primary working hours when performances need to be improved, the goal is to ensure that the work of the enterprise workers' business partnerships is more directly related to their members' daily activities. What is needed is a new type of intra-enterprise business association that will locally guarantee continuous adherence to the process of reform. The competent authorities of the ministry have frequently consulted with the trade unions of the various branches about this matter, and have secured their support. It would be particularly timely, in their opinion, to form more so-called autonomous work partnerships. These small associations decide their own size by taking into account the technical resources available for implementing a given technology. There has also been some talk about having the socialist brigades carry out their pledges under these kinds of entrepreneurial arrangements. According to the ministry's proposal, 40 percent of the wages paid for work performed in enterprise workers' business partnerships would be retargeted toward compensating for work performed during the primary working hours.

More Small and Medium-Size Enterprises

The minister also talked about the operation of enterprise councils, stressing the importance of resolving periodic conflicts between short and long-term interests. In connection with the manpower situation he reminded his audience that in this area, too, there was a need for system orientation, and that the structure of industry and the structural makeup of the manpower employed in industry had to be examined as a whole.

It was too early to talk about the dangers of unemployment, he stressed; after all, the predominant branches continue to operate with a 30 to 50 percent capacity shortage. For now it appears--even though public opinion quickly reacts to these

kinds of phenomena--that the inability of a given branch to continue to employ a couple of hundred people in their professions will remain a local problem for a long time to come. Every such instance must be handled circumspectly and humanely without forgetting, however, the interests of the bigger family, the "industrial family." Remarkably people's "affection" and loyalty toward industry always come to the fore when we want to put an end to something, and never when successes are spectacular. I feel, said Laszlo Kapolyi, that instead of pondering over the prospect of unemployment what we should be concerned about is increasing the role of training, retraining, extension training and, in general, of education.

Negotiations with Suzuki

In conclusion the minister stressed: the leaders of industry support the idea of increasing the number of middle-size and small enterprises, which should not be understood to mean that the work of the large enterprises was not appreciated. We do, however, need more production units that can flexibly adjust to changing requirements. Hence, on the one hand, the industrial leadership continues to support rational decentralization, but on the other, it would like to see a greater number of enterprises that can work together under a holding-company like corporate arrangement.

In responding to questions the minister also spoke about the inter-enterprise negotiations that are currently under way with the Suzuki firm, concerning the assembling of passenger cars. As he pointed out, the share of Hungarian products to be installed in Japanese vehicles would not even amount to 10 percent, which only underscores the importance of establishing the earlier described industrial background.

In September, we will receive the first 5 prototypes of the Soviet ZAZ model; beyond supplying some of the component parts for them, Hungarian industry will assemble 50,000 of these vehicles per year. Bulgaria will also be involved, under a similar arrangement, and 150,000 ZAZ's per year will be produced in the Soviet Union.

9379

REPORT ON INVESTMENTS IN FIRST HALF OF 1987

25000478A Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Aug 87 p 1

[Article by unnamed correspondent: "Metro, Paks, Ferihegy, Mines; Less Money, Better Targeted--Large-Scale Investments During the First Half Year"]

[Article] At the beginning of the year, 14.2 billion forints had been earmarked for ongoing and planned large-scale investment projects; in March, however, this figure was cut by 300 million forints as directed by a resolution by the Council of Ministers. These reduced resources must be better targeted, more efficiently used and focused on fewer areas. One-fifth of the monetary resources that can be utilized is made up of budgetary outlays, half comes from state funds, and the rest from the ministries', councils' and enterprises' own sources.

Two-thirds of this money is spent on two main investment projects. The number four reactor block of the Paks Nuclear Power Plant is one gigantic undertaking the construction of which will cost 4.5 billion forints this year. Here the work is progressing faster than planned. The hot-run and safety tests in the reactor block have been completed, and it is expected that in early September--4 months earlier than planned--it will be ready to be hooked up to the national electric power grid. According to the projections, 4.3 billion forints will be spent this year on the continuing construction of the Bos [Gabcikovo]--Nagymaros Hydroelectric Plant project. Here, too, the rate of progress has been satisfactory, with all of the earthwork on the future site of the dam and reservoir at Dunakiliti completed.

One and a half million forints will be spent this year on the construction of the north-south metro line. Of this only 50 million forints have been spent during the first half of the year. One of the reasons for this shortfall has been a delay in obtaining the necessary licenses for imported equipment. In spite of these delays--owing to the reprogramming of technical plans--all of the surface and underground work planned have been completed on a time-proportional basis. Of the large-scale

investments aimed at expanding the infrastructure the construction of the Ferihegy 2 airport is nearing completion. In 1987, 1.1 billion forints have been allocated for this project, most of it targeted at installing equipment needed to ensure the safety of flying. Here, too, the execution of the budget will fall time-proportionately short of the plan, also because of unobtained import licenses. Assuming that those licenses become available, the airport will be completed by the end of the year.

Eighthundred seventy million forints will be spent this year on upgrading the Mecaek Coal Mines. The procurement of machinery has been a problem, but by accelerating the earthworks so far we have been able to adhere to the deadlines. At plant No. 5 of the Mecaek Ore Mining Enterprise currently under construction they are making up for the delays experienced during the first quarter, so the fulfillment of the annual plan is once again progressing according to schedule. The plant is projected to begin operating by the end of next year.

The full completion of the Dunaujvaros Coking Works is expected by June 1988. This year's expenditures had been set at 993 million forints, of which 374 million forints have been spent during the first 6 months. Due to a shortage of basic materials, this year's output of the coking block that was put into partial operation last year has been 334,000 tons, somewhat less than had been planned. Once completed, the full capacity of the plant will be 2 million tons.

Also included among our large-scale industrial investments are the Many Mines where carry-over costs have amounted to 43 million forints. This accounts for 10 percent of the total allocated investment for that project.

The plan at the beginning of the year also contained two large-scale cultural investments. One of them, a part of the Buda Castle Palace reconstruction project, was the renovation of the Sandor Palace which--albeit with a reduced budget--is proceeding according to the revised plans. Of the 60 million forints allocated this year for the construction of the National Theater 9 million forints have been spent for works completed earlier; further payments have been suspended pending a decision concerning the future of the theater.

9379

MEDICAL INDUSTRY PERFORMANCE SURPASSES EXPECTATIONS

25000478c Budapest NAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 3 Aug 87 p 3

[Article: "Above Average Improvement--Fewer Workers, Greater Output in the Pharmaceutical Industry"]

[Text] During the first half of this year, the growth rate experienced in the pharmaceutical industry has been several times that of the industrial average: compared with the same period last year, the enterprises of this branch have increased their production by 10.5 percent. Moreover, these improved production results have been attained with a reduced staff, as today the branch employs 1.2 percent fewer workers than just a year earlier. At the same time, the production value per employee has risen by nearly 12 percent. Within the branch, production results even better than the branch average have been achieved at the Egis Pharmaceutical Factory, the Reanal Fine Chemicals Factory, the Alkaloids Chemical Works and the Biogal Pharmaceutical Factory.

The enterprises of this branch have increased their domestic sales by 16.5 percent. This has also led to noticeable improvements in supplies: during the second quarter, there were no lasting shortages of any domestically produced pharmaceutical products which is without precedent in terms of the past 4 years. Deliveries have not been significantly hindered by bottle shortages, although there have been some problems in foil supplies. During the past season, the supply of plant protecting agents produced by our pharmaceutical enterprises fully met the needs of agriculture. Altogether 44 percent more weed killers and insecticides were delivered to farms and cooperatives than during the first quarter of last year.

Calculated in forints, our ruble exports during the first 6 months have increased by 10.5 percent. Our socialist partners have continued to order more products from our pharmaceutical enterprises than what had been projected in the contingencies of our interstate agreements. Also calculated in forints, the branch's hard currency exports have increased by 5.7 percent.

The capitalist exports produced by the Pharmaceutical Factory of Kobanya, Egis and Biogal have been several time greater than even this average, while Biogal has doubled its convertible exports compared with the same period last year. One problem has been the inability of some enterprises to obtain the needed amount of import materials which has hindered further increases in exports.

9379

CONFLICT BETWEEN DEMOGRAPHIC SHIFT, CENTRAL PLANNING VIEWED

23000346 Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 20, No 5, May 87 (signed to press 27 Apr 87) pp 515-530

[Article by Dr Katharina Belwe, member of the research staff of the Gesamtdeutsches Institut in Bonn: "Migration in the GDR: Rural Exodus and Urbanization"]

[Text] 1. Preliminary Remarks

As can be read in a GDR journal, the territorial impact of migration processes today represents "not only a magnitude to be viewed from the national economic standpoint. They have a decisive influence upon the redistribution of the social capacity for work and, in part, exert a substantial influence upon the social, professional, and qualifications structure, as well as upon the demographic structures of territories."(1) Their analysis is, thus, thoroughly suited purposes of providing a piece of the mosaic intended to further perfect the picture of the social structure of the GDR.

Recently, an increased number of contributions on the topic of "migration" have appeared in GDR social science literature. This is the appellation of the specialized concept which is also used in the GDR to describe the "transfer of the domicile within the state borders of a country from one community to another (internal migration) or across the borders of a country (immigration and emigration)...."(2) Although "internal migration" is a subconcept of "migration," both terms are generally used in specialized literature synonymously. This is also true for the present contribution, the substance of which deals with internal migrations within the GDR in the strict sense of the word. The cause of this migration is defined in the LEXIKON DER WIRTSCHAFT, ARBEIT, BILDUNG UND SOZIALES as "changes in the location distribution of productive forces and the resulting temporary territorial differences between the desirable and available quantities of manpower...."(3) Influx locations are designated as "target localities," exodus locations are designated as "source localities."

The frequency and content of the more recent journal contributions permit the conclusion that "socially necessary" migration, which had been expressly desired in the past--as a prerequisite for or a consequence of the priorities of extensive economic growth--meanwhile runs substantially counter to the

concepts of the state planners. Today, internal migrations are proving to be more of a disruptive factor for economic and societal planning in the GDR, particularly since it has, in the meantime, led to a negative population balance in rural areas with its appropriate consequences. To defuse this situation, scientists, including primarily the GDR's population sociologists, are demanding that the state provide migration-controlling measures: the strategies for restricting migrations which are undesirable from the national economic standpoint because they are ineffective are to be identified and treated as problems. Prior to this stage, however, the fundamental problems which were caused or are expected to be caused by internal migrations in the GDR are to be identified. On the basis of the given data situation, a differentiated depiction of past and present domicile changes, perhaps with respect to time and spatial considerations, is not possible. Only appropriate summations gleaned from the specialized scientific literature of the GDR can be provided.

2. On the Problem of Migration Planning

2.1. Migration as a Necessary Prerequisite for Extensive Economic Growth, as Well as for the Expansion of Major Cities and Bezirk Capitals in the GDR Between the 1950's and the 1970's

Past migration processes of comparable magnitude are primarily attributable to changes within the locality distribution of productive forces. They were both a condition for as well as the necessary consequence of territorial structural changes connected with the development of productive forces. An essential prerequisite for the realization of these migration processes, which were then, and are now considered to be "socially necessary" consisted in the fact that appropriate residential living space for the necessary manpower was either available or was created at the locations or in the vicinity of the new industrial locations. In conjunction with fundamental decisions regarding the establishment of industries, decisions regarding the volume and location of housing construction and the structure of construction operations on an overall basis had to be made.

The availability of living space can also, in and of itself, provide the stimulus for transferring the domicile or provide the impetus therefore. In the specialized literature, an even stronger effect is ascribed to the housing factor than is the case with regard to the work factor. Thus, for example, short-distance migrations are also conceivable--perhaps from the village to a nearby large city--without having to change an existing job. In general, however, employment opportunities are to be seen in conjunction with dwelling opportunities, "that is to say, every migration presupposes the existence of employment and dwelling opportunities for the migrating population in the target locality." (4) Both of these factors, employment and housing, have resulted in voluminous migration processes in the GDR in the past: in the 1950's and in the 1960's--in other words, at the time when extensive industrial development was being prioritized--the GDR recorded large changes with respect to population numbers in its cities and communities. Individual cities, as, for example, Hoyerswerda or Schwedt, to name two of the new industry locations, increased their populations from 1950 through today by more than tenfold. (5) Without appropriate housing (construction) capacities,

such population growth would have been unthinkable. The deliberate influx of manpower to new investment focal points in the 1950's and the 1960's was the prerequisite for the establishment of a performance-capable industry, for the planned establishment and expansion of metallurgy, the energy industry and the fuels industry, as well as of heavy industry in the GDR. This extensive industrial development "demanded the influx of manpower from agriculture and from the villages into industry and, at the same time, into the cities." (6) Moreover, migration processes--and this is to be seen in conjunction with the new location or expansion of industrial enterprises--were necessary to overcome the economic and social backwardness of entire regions, for example, of the former Land Mecklenburg. In 1950, Land Sachsen with only 16 percent of the total land area accounted for 33 percent of the total industrial production of the GDR. On the other hand, Land Mecklenburg and Land Brandenburg, with a combined total of 50 percent of the land area, accounted only for 14 percent of the total industrial production. These territories accounted for more than half of the increase in industrial employment in the GDR in the subsequent decades. These developments led to overcoming the "disproportionate territorial distribution of the working class and the other classes and strata of the population" in the territory of the GDR. Today, the share of those working in industry and in the construction industry (designated by Ostwald as the "core of the working class") in all bezirks of the GDR amount to between 30 and 56 percent. In 1955, this share was only 16 and 13 percent, respectively, in the bezirks of Schwerin and Neubrandenburg; meanwhile, these areas currently account for "some 32 and 30 percent, respectively." (7)

Whereas the 1950's and 1960's were characterized by a relatively voluminous migration covering substantial spatial distances--the necessary transfers of domiciles frequently involved long moves beyond the borders of the bezirk (8)--the 1970's saw a decline in intra- or interbezirk migrations. That is to say with the exception of Berlin (East) whose attractive force remains unbroken to this day on a republicwide basis. Migration movements essentially continued on an intrabezirk basis; target localities of the migrations were primarily the bezirk capitals and major cities. According to Grundmann/Schmidt, these developments corresponded to the requirements of intensively expanded reproduction--something which was characteristic of the 1970's. As a result of their investigation of the migration balance of the bezirks and kreise of the GDR in the period 1971 through 1977, the bezirks of Schwerin, Halle, Gera, and Cottbus stand at the head of intrabezirk migrations. The bezirk capitals--and this is true of all bezirks in the GDR--hold the greatest attraction. This becomes most clear with respect to the three northern bezirks of Rostock, Schwerin, Neubrandenburg, as well as in the bezirks of Magdeburg, Leipzig, Gera, and Suhl. (9)

Apart from the immediate economic causes, the growth of bezirk capitals and other major cities during the phase of the intensively expanded reproduction process was the result of yet other causes: to permit, for example, such political-administrative centers as East Berlin, as well as the bezirk capitals and kreise capitals, to perform their functions better than heretofore--particularly in the 1970's--population influxes to these cities were subjected to planned stimulation. This was accomplished primarily through housing construction. (10)

2.2. Migration as an Interference Factor

Compared to the 1950's and 1960's, the positive or negative bottom lines of migration generally diminished during the 1970's through the present day; the volume of migration has declined. The present-day distribution of productive forces and the dwelling structure of the GDR, according to Grundmann/Schmidt, "extensively correspond...to the requirements of the further creation of a developed socialist society,"(11) the reason why changes of domicile in the volumes of past years are no longer (socially necessary). Measured in terms of other--capitalist--countries, for example, measured in terms of the FRG, it is said that the intensity of migration in the GDR today is comparably slight. Whereas migration in the GDR involves about 2 migration cases per 1,000 inhabitants and per year and is said to be relatively low, it is felt that, with respect to the FRG, with 6 migrants per 1,000 inhabitants (1970's), intensity is quite high. The authors attribute this to the fact that migration in Western industrial societies is an "exploitation condition of capital." In contrast to socialism, such migrations are not planned under capitalism and are also not plannable. In contrast, migrations under socialism are an "substantially guided and planned process"--one which reflects the needs and interests of the working class and of all workers.(12)

These optimistically sounding determinations made by Grundmann/Schmidt require a differentiation which is incidentally undertaken by the publishers and by other GDR authors themselves. This is primarily true of the claimed planned nature or the plannability or controllability of migration processes which, according to Grundmann/Schmidt is supposed to be characteristic of socialist societies.(13) The fact that this is only half the truth becomes apparent when, during the subsequent course of their work and in other contributions there is talk of "undesirable side effects" or of "late consequences" of these planned migrations. Grundmann himself then also conceives that migration in the GDR proceeded "only in part" according to plan, or so proceeds: the volume, direction, the bottom lines, and the social structure of migrations are said to "not always and not in every respect reflect national economic and all-societal requirements." Even migrations considered necessary from the central standpoint imply "many unplanned and economically not essentially desirable migrations."(14)

These "undesirable side effects" of migration are attributed, among others, to the fact that together with the manpower required at the target localities of the migration effort, professionally active family members very frequently also leave the source localities at the same time. This means that the planned departure of one worker implies "in the majority of all cases the immigration of at least one additional worker at the target locality of the migration which is unplanned there." The source locality of the migration--and this is the obverse side of the coin--thus generally loses more but at least two workers. As far as the controlling institutions are concerned, Grundmann states that "the accompaniment of [the migrant] by...employed family members...represents an unplanned procedure."(15) Since a number of cities and communities in the GDR will continue to require migration gains over the coming years,(16) the above-described problem will likely not be alleviated for the present. Thus, small cities and communities will have to stand still

for unplanned losses in the future, whereas the population of large cities and Bezirk capitals will continue to grow (in an unplanned manner).(17)

Moreover, in later years, the seemingly planned migration processes ("late consequences" of migration) will result in high excess birth rates at the target localities of the migration, whereas source localities will record surplus deaths. This means that the population of the communities will decline and that of large cities and Bezirk capitals will grow even long after the migration balances have been reconciled.(18) It is obvious that the "undesired side effects" and the "late consequences" of migration can also result in disruptions in other areas of the planned economic and social systems or can even cause structural defects.

The negative aspects--the "side effects" and "late consequences"--of internal migration, which have only been hinted at above, are described in more detail below.

3. Side Effects and Late Consequences of Planned Migration

3.1. Rural Exodus

The most urgent problem which the basically unregularized internal migration causes in the GDR today is the problem of the "rural exodus."(19) Although this concept is hardly used in the GDR, there is very little doubt that the transfer of domiciles from the country into the cities--in other words the rural exodus--confronts GDR planners with difficulties. Even if one were to assume that "the formerly typical 'rural exodus' no longer exists" the problems which must be mastered today are attributable to the "side effects" and "late consequences" of this very unilateral migration movement over the past years. However, this assumption is only correct to a limited extent, since the specialized literature candidly concedes "that migration from the land continues."(20) Despite a decline in the overall population of the GDR between 1970 through 1980 by 314,000 inhabitants (minus 1.8 percent) the urban population over the same time period rose by 164,000 inhabitants (plus 1.3 percent) and the rural population declined by 478,000 inhabitants (minus 11 percent). "Between 1980 and 1983, the rural population declined by an additional 58,400 inhabitants, whereas the urban population increased by 20,400 inhabitants."(21) Although Hartmut Wendt qualifies this migratory movement, which has been taking place in the recent past in the GDR and which has actually been reversed since 1976, not as "rural exodus" but refers to the counterpart of the process: the "currently ongoing urbanization" in the GDR is said to be achieved as a result of internal migratory gains scored by cities.(22) However, this means that it is primarily the rural communities (23) which continue to suffer appropriate migratory losses--in other words, people continue to leave the land in the direction of urban centers and not the other way around.

Table 1. Development of Population Numbers (in percent)

Bezirk	1 Jan 71 to 31 Dec 80	
	Rural Kreise	Urban Kreise
Rostock	95.71	113.10
Schwerin	93.60	124.42
Neubrandenburg	91.83	171.43
Potsdam	96.08	110.00
Frankfurt	96.88	129.09
Cottbus	98.89	135.99
Magdeburg	93.45	106.17
Halle	91.36	109.58
Leipzig	93.62	96.33
Dresden	93.94	101.31
Karl-Marx-Stadt	91.72	102.23
Erfurt	96.75	105.77
Gera	94.96	114.74
Suhl	96.01	152.96
Total	94.22	108.21

Source: Georgia Kroll, "Problems of the Development of Migration in Rural Territories of the GDR," WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ZEITSCHRIFT DER MARTIN-LUTHER-UNIVERSITÄT, Halle-Wittenberg, Vol 35, No 1, 1986, p 76.

Table 2. Ranking of Kreise According to the Natural Balance and the Migration Balance for the Period 1 January 1971 Through 31 December 1980

Bezirk	Rural Kreise		Urban Kreise	
	+	-	+	-
Natural Balance				
Rostock	10	--	4	--
Schwerin	5	5	1	--
Neubrandenburg	13	1	1	--
Potsdam	--	15	1	1
Frankfurt	1	8	3	--
Cottbus	5	9	1	--
Magdeburg	--	19	--	1
Halle	2	18	1	2
Leipzig	2	10	--	1
Dresden	4	11	--	2
Karl-Marx-Stadt	1	20	--	3
Erfurt	4	9	1	1
Gera	1	10	1	1
Suhl	2	6	1	--
Total	50	141	15	12
Percent share (continues following page)	26.18	73.82	55.55	44.45

Migration Balance

Rostock	--	10	4	--
Schwerin	--	10	1	--
Neubrandenburg	--	14	1	--
Potsdam	5	10	2	--
Frankfurt	4	5	3	--
Cottbus	3	11	1	--
Magdeburg	1	18	1	--
Halle	1	19	2	1
Leipzig	1	10	1	--
Dresden	--	15	1	1
Karl-Marx-Stadt	1	20	3	--
Erfurt	1	12	1	--
Gera	--	11	2	--
Suhl	1	7	1	--
Total	19	172	25	2
Percent share	9.95	99.05	92.59	7.41

Source: Same as for Table 1.

As of 31 December 1980, 179 rural kreise of the GDR--that is to say, 93.7 percent of all rural kreise--had fewer inhabitants than they did on 1 January 1971. On the other hand, during the same time frame, only 18.5 percent of all urban kreise had recorded a decline in population. This uneven development between urban and rural kreise is primarily attributable to migration and not to natural population development (birth rate, mortality). Accordingly, in 1980, 90 percent of the rural kreise but only 7.4 percent of the urban kreise of the GDR had a negative migration balance.(24)

The decline of the resident population of rural kreise in the GDR (to a total of 94.22 percent in the period from 1971 through 1981) was not accomplished in a uniform manner; this process took place in a territorially differentiated way. In the years 1971 through 1980, as can be seen from Table 1 and Table 2, the steepest decline attributable to migration was experienced by rural kreise in Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk and Halle Bezirk (decline to a population level of 91.72 percent and 91.36 percent, respectively. The similarly sizable decline in the population of the rural kreise of Neubrandenburg Bezirk (to a level of 91.83 percent), caused by the exodus from the land to urban centers, was mitigated by an excess of births (plus 13 percent). Comparable data are applicable to the rural kreise in Rostock Bezirk. The relatively large population losses suffered by the rural kreise of Magdeburg Bezirk (decline to a level of 93.45 percent), Leipzig Bezirk (to 93.62 percent), and Dresden Bezirk (to 93.94 percent), on the other hand, were more favorably influenced by surplus mortality.

According to Georgia Kroll, this development is attributable to a "slow above-average superannuation of the resident population as a result of long years of stable high migration losses and below-average fertility levels of women of child-bearing age," in other words, to the late consequences of migration.(25)

The above-described urban-oriented change of domicile is evaluated in the specialized literature in unvarnished form as "the expression of unacceptable working and living conditions" in the country: "since, in the final analysis, migration is based on individual decisions, it is a visible reaction to territorially differing living conditions or their change and, thus, their reflection." (26) Under present conditions, which, according to Grundmann/Schmidt, are strongly characterized by the fact that the given location distribution of manpower and the housing structure in the GDR essentially correspond to the requirements of intensively expanding the reproduction process, "migration is considered to be a criterion of social differences between source and target localities of migration--in other words, between urban centers and the rural areas." (27) Although, according to Grundmann, investigations have shown that high migratory losses are not in and of themselves always an expression of unacceptable working and living conditions, as, for example, in Dresden Bezirk: "In the majority of all cases, however, particularly in Neubrandenburg Bezirk," this is said to be the case. Much is said to have been achieved here; in the case of villages and small towns, equalized migratory balances were achieved in the shortest of time frames. Nevertheless, the population numbers of most communities would continue to decline even then--as a consequence of previous migratory losses. (28)

The rural exodus proves to be a great problem primarily because, in the long term, it leads to a disrupted demographic structure of the affected regions: "One-sided migratory gains or migratory losses in the communities lead to a disproportionate population development with the concomitant demographic, social, economic, urban construction and settlement structural problems." (29) The "country-to-city migration," as Hartmut Wendt calls the rural exodus, not only has unfavorable effects upon the manpower potential of the territory, both from the quantitative and qualitative viewpoints, but also has negative consequences with respect to the development of the age structure of the villages. In this respect, the determining factor is the superannuation of the resident population in the rural areas as a result of the out-migration of primarily younger population components. The fact that younger people account for a particularly high share of migrants is considered to be a "secure result of migration research": "In the long-year average, approximately three-fourths of the migratory population (in the GDR) is younger than 30 years of age. Maximum mobility is shown by migrants in the age group of 21 through 25." (30) After age 35, this mobility declines with respect to the employed population continuously with increasing age. A slight increase is again noted after age 60 or 65. The latter is explained by the giving up of employment ties and the partially given necessity to move in with children residing elsewhere or to move into old-age homes or nursing homes. (31)

The out-migration of primarily young people from the villages, thus, exerts a negative influence on the long-term population reproduction trend in rural areas: on the basis of the low birth rates, caused primarily through the out-migration of mostly young population components and the above-average superannuation, which has an influence on surplus deaths, the village population declines. "Just from 1965 through 1980, the number of women of child-bearing age (15-45) in communities with fewer than 10,000 inhabitants declined by 233,000 persons." (32) This has appropriate consequences for the

number of potential workers in rural areas. Consequently, out-migration areas not only suffer acute losses of available "social work capacity," out, simultaneously, show a decline in the numbers of upcoming workers.(33)

Added to this is the fact that the young people who migrate generally also represent the most qualified workers: "The population of the migrants consists of a disproportionately large number of...specialized workers, specialized school graduates, and advanced school graduates." According to Grundmann/Schmidt, this results in a vicious circle: a loss in working capacity required the acceleration of the intensification of production, yet it was precisely those workers who were most urgently required for this intensification who migrated away.(34) Georgia Kroll, who conducted research on the problems of the development of migration in rural territories of the GDR, reached the conclusion that "the impacted areas were heading for very tight developmental situations with regard to their manpower development."(35) As a result of the above-described out-migration of not only the qualified workers required at the target localities, but, for the most part, also of their equally qualified family members (36) the available manpower potential declined and the qualifications, employment, and social structure of rural areas changed. Georgia Kroll, for example, already sees today "a gradual but above-average change in professions related to services, health care, and social care, as well as in additional nonmaterial areas." According to the author, this could "still further exacerbate the existing differences between town and country" which would, simultaneously, result in yet additional out-migration.(37) In close association with this phenomenon, the danger, as defined by Grundmann/Schmidt must be seen that--as a result of the out-migration--the available rural service infrastructure, the available housing, and the social and technical infrastructure can no longer be effectively utilized.(38) Both aspects, the out-migration of specialized personnel on the one hand and the poor utilization of service facilities, as well as health care and social facilities or the infrastructure, resulting from migration losses, on the other hand, bring about the exacerbation of differences between town and country, as feared by Kroll. Thus, under certain circumstances, some communications connections would have to be halted, rural clinics closed, sales outlets combined, inns and restaurants closed, and many other possibilities.(39) Thus, the out-migration of a portion of the rural population to urban areas brings with it (additional) deterioration of the quality of life on the land. This is not in contradiction with the fact--yet to be demonstrated--that the degree to which households in rural areas are provided with living space is higher there than it is in the city.

3.2. Urbanization

Target localities of migration, in large cities and bezirk capitals, experience problems which, to a certain extent, are opposite to the above-described problems experienced by source localities: here, the social capacity for work "is growing in economically unnecessary dimensions"; here, a substantial qualifications and educational potential is concentrating; here, the available facilities of the services sphere, the health care sphere, and the social sphere, and the technical infrastructure are effectively utilized, but frequently fail to cover the needs of the population and here, despite intensive construction activity, there is a housing shortage. Moreover, it

must be taken into account that the growth of the population and the capacity for work at existing target localities of the migration will continue to expand even though migration balances have been equalized or even where migratory losses occur (late consequences of migration). In other words, as Grundmann recently states in DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, "further growth must occur even in other areas," namely a growth in the number of jobs, apartments, as well as in the technical and social infrastructure.(40) However, this means that the number of workers currently and prospectively living in large cities and bezirk capitals will exceed the number of available jobs. Comparable data are true of the available housing, facilities of the services sector, the health and social welfare sectors, as well as of the social and technical infrastructure of the cities. While there is a shortage of qualified workers in rural areas, the qualifications and educational potential of the urban population is considerable. Because of the prerequisites for the effective utilization of acquired knowledge and acquired capabilities are the most favorable here, those who have acquired appropriate training are pushing toward the cities.

The bezirk cities and major cities of the GDR, but also the kreise cities are not only the "determining centers of the GDR, centers of direction and planning" (the number and share of employees of the state apparatus, the party apparatus, and those working in the social organizations is appropriately high), but they also harbor the production facilities of industry and are the localities of research and developmental institutions, of the advanced schools and universities. In East Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, Karl-Marx-Stadt, and Jena, "more than half of the people working in research and the major portion of the GDR's research technology are concentrated. In 1981, the large cities of the GDR accounted for a share of 32.8 percent of the professors and lecturers active at advanced schools and universities. In East Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, and Halle alone, 55 percent of the professors and lecturers at advanced schools in the GDR were active.(41) East Berlin is not only the largest industrial city of the GDR (more than 16 percent of all employees in electrotechnology and electronics work here), but is, simultaneously, "the most significant center of science and research." Furthermore, the city has numerous world-class cultural and other social facilities.(42) Similar data are true, for example, with respect to Dresden or Leipzig. The large cities, with East Berlin at their head, thus offer the most favorable conditions for the utilization of qualified work capacity and for a high living standard.(43) "Nevertheless, most of the specialized workers, specialized school cadres, and advanced school cadres who are not utilized in accordance with their qualifications reside in the large cities or their environs." (44) This is attributable, for one, to the forced "socialist rationalization" which is primarily carried out in the centers of industrial production, whereby the number of qualitatively demanding jobs declines. Another reason for this is the above-mentioned enormous attractive force of the cities. It is primarily members of the intelligentsia who show a "decided inclination toward migrating to residential areas which are generally perceived as being attractive." Even if the optimum utilization of the acquired qualifications cannot be assured in the city, and other locations suffer from a shortage of appropriate specialized manpower, they generally decide against living in rural areas. The readiness of specialized and advanced school graduates who are not utilized in accordance with their qualifications to move to rural areas to be

able to utilize the acquired qualifications in an appropriate job and, thus, to leave the more attractive city is extremely low. Thus, for example, it can happen "that in some large cities, some graduate agronomists, who are badly needed elsewhere, engage in completely different activities or that some agrarian regions, but even some industrial territories, have a not yet fully covered requirement for physicians." However, this is also true with respect to the large cities which "have few traditions with regard to the exercise of activities specific to the intelligentsia." (46) Examples of this are Neubrandenburg and Schwedt.

Similar things can be said with respect to the housing situation in the large cities which, despite extensive housing construction, is worse below the line than is the situation in rural areas. In contrast to rural communities which, today, evidence the highest degree of supply involving living space (although it is frequently qualitatively poorer), the bezirk capitals and large cities of the GDR continue to suffer a shortage of living space: "Curiously, cities which, in the 1970's, had the most voluminous new housing construction today, by comparison, show the lowest degree of supplying households with apartments." (47)

4. Measures To Restrict the Rural Exodus

In the relevant specialized literature of the GDR, it is undisputed that the migration potential available in rural areas "has been exhausted since the end of the 1970's on an overall GDR scale." The population and labor force increases considered to be desirable by the large and medium-size cities are being taken care of essentially by the demographic reproduction of their own inhabitant potential--in other words, by the progeny of the urban population itself. With a few exceptions, the in-migration of labor forces from small cities and from rural communities on the scale of the 1970's is "no longer desirable." (48) There is more: Because, first, in the course of "social rationalization" a portion of the hitherto utilized or growing social capacity for work in the cities is no longer required and, second, because agrarian production in rural areas must be assured the change of domicile by part of the urban population becomes virtually an economic commandment or, as Grundmann/Schmidt states it, "it becomes a fact or an economic requirement." (49)

The shortage of labor on the land and the conservation of jobs which has already been achieved and is still achievable in the future as a result of "socialist rationalization" in combines and enterprises, as well as in the public administration facilities of bezirk capitals and large cities in the GDR, make the turning around of the predominant migration direction from the land to urban areas necessary as a trend. (50)

The most recent discussion on this complex of topics deals with the question pertaining to the "prerequisites for reducing and overcoming undesirable migration losses and even questions of a trend change in the direction of migrations." (51) It is to be achieved by stimulating out-migrations [from the cities] to the former source localities of the migration. After all, there had previously been successful stimulation of in-migration (or out-migrations from other settlements). However, Grundmann realistically assesses that "that

which is mathematically purposeful is not, simultaneously, something that is socially doable."(52) For one, the desired turnaround in the direction of migrations is rendered extremely difficult by the above-described enormous attractive force of the cities. For another, it must be assumed that the population growth and the growth of the social capacity for work in the bezirk capitals and large cities of the GDR "will continue even given equalized migration balances or even migration losses."(53) As described above, the continually growing population of large cities will have to be provided with additional jobs and additional living space; the technical and social infrastructures must be appropriately expanded. In view of the existing "catch-up requirement" of new construction areas and because of the yet outstanding performances pertaining to modernization of the technical and social infrastructure in old construction areas--what is meant is apartments, streets, water lines, stores, cinemas--but also because of additional efforts to conserve jobs as a result of rationalization measures at production locations and in public facilities of the cities, this step alone is a massive cost-intensive task.(54) A promising stimulation of out-migrations from the large cities to the villages is no less costly.

An analysis of the most recent specialized literature dealing with the migration problems provides the impression that GDR scientists know precisely which "laws" the migration movement, which "in the final analysis is based on individual decisions," is following. It is generally known that people seek more attractive working and living conditions by changing their domicile. The "decisive prerequisites and conditions of migratory behavior" are seen by Hartmut Wendt in the "spatial differentiation of working and living conditions and their subjective reflection."(55) Although the scientists know what the fundamental possibilities for influencing the migratory movement are, they thus far do not have at their disposal the necessary differentiated knowledge regarding the causes of the migration. A very essential reason for migration is the research lag evident in the GDR in this area. There is a shortage of well-founded research results dealing with the indirect control of migrations under today's economic and demographic conditions. Almost all contributions of a more recent date call for "extensive research with respect to the causes of internal migration, its lawfulness, and effect." The status of research in this area in the GDR is generally considered to be unsatisfactory.(56)

The generally advanced call by GDR scientists for an improvement in the "indirect control" of migration permits the conclusion--and this is also explicitly formulated in the literature--that no thought is being given to administrative measures to restrict the rural exodus which might order or prohibit the individual to move here or there--in other words, of working and living here or there.(57) Moreover, one-sided migratory losses or gains by communities, kreise, and bezirk are to be prevented by removing their causes--the still-existing social differences between town and country.

4.1. Solution of the Housing Question in Rural Areas

The most important prerequisite for the restriction of migration is seen in the lasting improvement of working and living conditions and in the raising of the cultural level in the rural area.(58) "Universal and faster-than-average improvement of living standards in territories having hitherto high migratory

losses--beginning with housing conditions through the atmosphere in the place of abode to the modernization of production and the provisions of appropriately qualified jobs"--is supposed to effect a turnaround in the migration direction.(59) An essential role or the most important role (60) is attributed by the scientists to housing construction, or rather to housing policy, in the GDR: "Solution of the housing question as a social problem and the elimination of fundamental territorial differences in providing housing will deprive housing conditions of their significance as a migration motivation."(61) The assignment of an adequately large and qualitatively good apartment is considered to be "the most important reason for moving away or remaining in the existing location of the domicile." This was the case in the past, is the case today, and will basically also be the case in future years. Grundmann/Schmidt, who claim this, refer to investigations (unfortunately not available here) on the migration process, on the motives and causes of out-migration or in-migration.(62)

According to these investigations, positive or negative migration balances have their principal causes in the given housing conditions, whereby a closer connection between positive balances of migration and the growth of available housing exists. This implies a qualitative improvement in the housing situation on the part of the in-migrants. Obversely, the connection is not quite so clear. Poor housing conditions do not necessarily result in negative migration balances. Although, under certain circumstances, they produce a readiness to change domicile, "an out-migration as a rule occurs only if the desired and necessary apartment elsewhere is actually made available."(63)

It was possible to demonstrate that population growth and migration gains in bezirk cities and large cities of the GDR are actually attributable to the forced new apartment construction activity conducted in these areas: "Since 1971 until the beginning of 1983, 2 million apartments were newly built in the GDR and modernized, primarily at major housing construction locations." The "relatively rarely provable" migration gains of rural communities are similarly, as a rule, tied to housing construction or special functions to be exercised in rural areas.(64)

The fact, as has been mentioned above, that the villages are better off with respect to providing living space than is the case in large cities, must be modified at this point: Insofar as living area and living space are concerned, the housing situation in rural communities today is relatively more favorable than that in the cities. The quantitative "housing surplus" in rural areas is, however, generally not the expression of forced efforts to improve working and living conditions on the land; "it is, moreover, the result of out-migrations." Empty apartments are fundamentally apartments in poor condition: "In the GDR...there are no empty apartments in good condition."(65) Despite a purely mathematically favorable supply situation pertaining to living space, the improvement in the housing situation in the villages is, in other words, an essential prerequisite to throttle the rural exodus.

4.2. Increasing the Residency Connections in Rural Areas

By making available new or modernized living space alone, the social differences between town and country will not be alleviated. The prerequisite for the deliberate control of internal migration, according to Werner Ostwald, is, thus, the deliberate influencing of the totality of working and living conditions on the land "in the complexity of working, educational, and living conditions, the possibilities of a meaningful use of free time, and the nature of the environmental and recreational opportunities." (66) Unfortunately, on the basis of the previously mentioned research lag, there are significant knowledge deficits with regard to the meaning of the individual conditions for the urgently needed rural living connections or knowledge pertaining to increasing the attractiveness of the village. According to investigations, for example, the infrastructure "today no longer counts in first place and is not isolated from other factors influencing the out-migration motivation." In contrast, great significance with respect to the stability of the rural population is ascribed to working conditions in animal husbandry and plant production. Ines Schmidt of the Academy for Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the SED, on the other hand, holds that the "improvement of traffic connections to cities" to be an essential condition. (67) Greater significance is more recently again being ascribed to the processing of agrarian and horticultural products (canning of vegetables and fruits) in rural areas. This is said to be important with respect to the functioning of agriculture, "but also as a condition for other people working and living there," for example, for the family members of those working in agriculture. (68) The influence of specific territorial conditions--what is meant here is the village environs, the beauty of the countryside--upon the residential connections is evaluated in the specialized literature in a quite variable manner. (69)

4.3. Diminution of the Whirlpool Effect of Large Cities

Another essential but currently not given prerequisite for restricting the rural exodus is seen in the "diminution of the whirlpool effect of...larger cities upon the work capacity of villages and of small towns." This can only be achieved to a limited extent by improving the working conditions and living conditions in rural areas. According to Grundmann, rural communities must continue to suffer migratory losses as long as additional jobs are created in large cities and efforts are made to staff these jobs--in other words, as long as workers must be recruited from rural areas. A decisive condition for the reduction of migration losses "and, in a given case, also for the arising of migratory gains for villages and small towns" is, therefore, the intensification, both in the productive sphere as well as ("more so") in the nonproductive sphere. What is meant is that the workers required by new production facilities in the cities are to be obtained by way of "socialist rationalization" of production and administration--in other words, by "rationalizing unprofitable jobs out of existence." This procedure has been in effect since the beginning of the 1980's, since the "Schwedt initiative: 'fewer [people] produce more,'" began. (71) Since that time, workers from obsolete jobs have been released with the goal in mind of utilizing them again in new and modern facilities in their own or in another enterprise (even in another residence area). If what follows Oswald, then, despite these

measures--or precisely because they are handled in too lax a manner--the existing and future manpower needs of the cities are not being covered or cannot be covered. In any event, he challenges economic scientists to indicate "fundamental ways to solve the difficult problem"; to not increase the total number of workers in cities and the total number of residents in cities or to expand built-up city areas despite the economic necessity to expand production in the cities.(72)

The large cities, however, not only have a whirlpool effect in the sense that they suck up urgently needed workers. As already indicated previously, the immensely great opportunities for work and living condition creation which the cities offer as political, economic, and cultural centers, are equally attractive. Georgia Kroll defended the concept that the measures to improve the material, contemporary, and social working and living conditions in the village and in rural production facilities, which have been introduced hitherto, but primarily since the beginning of the 1980's, could only contribute to reducing the rural exodus "if, in a parallel manner, the preferred target localities would cease to further expand their attractive advantages vis-a-vis the source localities in a disproportionate manner."(73) In other words, this is not merely a question of improving rural working and living conditions per se, what is moreover required is an improvement with respect to the relationship of living and working conditions in the preferred target localities of the migration. This also means that the advantages of living in the village must be more strongly emphasized, as was most recently done by Honecker at the 11th SED Party Congress in April 1986. This also means, for example, emphasizing the opportunities of individual production which exist in the country "in the personal households of the cooperative farmers and workers and in the Association of Small Horticulturalists, Settlers, and Small-Scale Animal Husbandry Operatives." The fact that the private economic sector within the planned socialist economy is being assured of the "full support" of the SED has surely to do primarily with the well-known supply bottlenecks. Moreover, this is also possibly seen as a stimulus for city dwellers to decide to live in the country. The SED general secretary in his report to the Central Committee of the SED also spoke of the "love for the village" and the perspectives of the village.(74) In the specialized scientific literature there is also talk of the "specialties of the village being determining factors...with respect to the social structure which depends on agrarian production and the lifestyle which is controlled by it in substance and form." In this respect, Krumbach of the Academy of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the SED sees a "driving force of economic and social progress in the rural area."(75)

5. Final Considerations

While during the phase of extensive industrial growth in the 1950's and 1960's and during the continued development and expansion of East Berlin as well as the bezirk capitals and other large cities in the GDR in the 1970's major migratory movements from rural areas in the direction of the city were necessary, the continuing migration today proves more likely to be a disruptive factor with respect to economic and social planning in the GDR. It has led to a partially extremely problematic population situation in rural areas in the meantime. Despite the fact that the rural exodus has diminished

since 1976, it has thus far not been possible to stop it. Thus, the population numbers of rural communities not only declined rapidly and are continuing to decline; the population drop is connected with a decline in the birth rate and with a surplus of death rates. By contrast, the city population has constantly increased and is increasing still; bezirk capitals and large cities have surplus birth rates: the rural exodus is accompanied by a process of urbanization. Whereas the population and manpower reproduction in the cities is basically assured, the rural communities are heading for a tight population and manpower situation at differing velocities. Even now, a thinning out of the social structure in rural areas is discernible. Young people, agricultural specialists, and members of the intelligentsia are primarily underrepresented: physicians, teachers, engineers, and managers. In contrast, the large cities generally have a considerable qualifications potential at their disposal. Because the prerequisites for utilizing qualified work capacity and for achieving a high level of standard of living are most favorable here, this attracts the well-educated workers, including primarily members of the intelligentsia, to the large cities. How serious the situation is can be seen from an example of Neubrandenburg Bezirk, which suffers heavily from the vortex effect of the city of East Berlin. The manpower situation in agriculture here is particularly precarious. Despite the influx of 7,300 workers for agricultural production since 1981, there was still a shortage of 4,000 workers in the bezirk in 1985. A large number of the agricultural enterprises in the bezirk also suffer from the chronic superannuation of available manpower.(76)

Honecker signaled the way in which the SED leadership visualizes the solution of this problem at the 11th SED Party Congress in April 1986. On the one hand, the available work capacity in rural areas is to be more rationally utilized; on the other hand, "young cadres are to be brought in" on an increased scale. What was involved was the "recruitment of the village youth, particularly the sons and daughters of cooperative farmers, for an agricultural profession, to train the young people well, and to have them settle down in the village...."(77) In this respect, qualified specialists for agriculture and members of the intelligentsia from various professional groups were kept in mind: physicians, teachers, engineers, qualified managers in various areas. The party is obviously prepared to grasp at those results of sociological research which aim in this particular direction. At the December 1985 Meeting of the Problem Council entitled "Class of Cooperative Farmers/City--Country," held in East Berlin on the topic of "Youth and Settlement in the Village" the scientists pronounced appropriate "recommendations for the management and planning sphere." "In order to assure the reproduction of the agricultural work capacity and the class of cooperative farmers, in order to unfold a rich mental-cultural life, in order to make rational use of the available housing substance and infrastructure, and to effect long-term assurance of the population reproduction, Heinz Suesse of the Central Institute of Youth Research in Leipzig said that was primarily required was the willingness of youth to settle in the village and to restrict migration. The main emphasis was placed on the recruitment of apprentices for agriculture "primarily from the villages" themselves. He justified this by saying that a high percentage of the agricultural professional follow-on generation from the cities will again leave the land. Some 30 percent of young people brought from the cities are said to be toying with migration

intentions. Suesse speaks of a "tendency for nonacclimatization on the part of young people brought into the village." (78) Yet not only they but also young people who have grown up on the land are frequently inclined toward life in the more attractive city. Werner Holzweissig from the Central Institute for Youth Research in Leipzig states that today virtually half of the 16- through 30-year-old village dwellers in the GDR no longer reside at their place of birth; "after they reach 25, the number even rises to 60 percent." Interrogations have revealed that migration intentions are strongly spread among young people. These intentions diminish with advancing age. Some 56 percent of young people below the age of 19 expressed their intention to (sometime) of leaving the village; only 9 percent of young people in this age group claim to have a strong tie to the place of residence. In the age group through 22 years of age, 43 percent had migratory intentions (through 25 years of age, 30 percent; through 30 years of age, 23 percent). (79) The obvious strong migration inclination of young people born and raised in rural areas stands in crass contrast to "social requirements." For example, in order to secure the proper share of young workers for agriculture in Neubrandenburg Bezirk, Hans-Peter Taulin of the Neubrandenburg Bezirk Party School says that, effective 1986/1987, some 50 percent of the school graduates would have to be recruited for agriculture, "in some kreise even 60 percent or more." (80) Scientists see solutions to these problems primarily in lasting improvements in the totality of working and living conditions in the village. In his report to the Central Committee of the SED at the 11th SED Party Congress, Honecker expressly pointed to the necessity of building more apartments and day-care facilities, of providing villages with daily necessities, of building and maintaining community facilities, as well as high-quality inns and restaurants and cultural facilities. (81) The special recommendations of scientists to the party, however, exceed these bounds insofar as they plead for providing young people with larger free areas in "designing their villages." Whether the influx and settlement of young people, which is urgently necessary to secure current and future manpower, will be successful is felt by GDR sociologists to depend quite essentially on the extent to which the specific requirements of this population stratum will be taken into account. These include, for example, also the "comprehensive inclusion of young people in the tasks of the village to be solved"; (82) their wishes were likely given short shrift in the past. This pertains both to the transmission of greater responsibility in agricultural and horticultural production enterprises, as well as in the village administration and with respect to having a say in free-time formation.

As is so often the case when measures of indirect control do not take hold or take hold only insufficiently, means of political-ideological convincing work are also resorted to in the case of controlling migrations. The management cadres of the agricultural producer cooperatives and the cooperative councils are asked to do their bit to persuade young people to remain in the villages. Thus, for example, partnership contracts between agricultural enterprises and the polytechnical high schools are to include provisions "regarding the appearance of management cadres before class collectives, regarding youth hours at agricultural producer cooperatives, regarding voluntary productive activities on the part of students during vacations, etc." (83) Also, with respect to members of the intelligentsia, the betting is on political-ideological convincing: It is said to be necessary, according to

Grundmann/Heuer, "for even members of the intelligentsia, from the point of view of social requirements, to remain in residence in cities and communities which have hitherto had less favorable living conditions, or even to move there." It is said that training at advanced and specialized schools and the influencing of the intelligentsia, therefore, must also include "not only the imparting of specialized knowledge, but also the inculcation of attitudes." Whoever decides, as a physician, teacher, or engineer, to live in a rural area is to be rewarded by special privileges, for example, through the availability of high-quality living space or through generous support in building an individual home.⁽⁸⁴⁾ It is possible that the enumerated measures of indirect control over migration, as identified in Part 4, can perhaps effect a short or mid-term halt or at least a mitigation in the out-migration of parts of the village population into large cities, which runs contra to the social requirements. The turning around of the migratory direction, which is necessary for a sweeping improvement of the situation in the rural areas--the "trend change" which is so emphasized by the scientists as being indispensable, is, thus, conceivable in the long run. If the (socially not necessary) migration losses in rural areas are not "reduced to a minimum as soon as possible" and--what is even more important--if "migrations 'against the mainstream'--migrations toward territories having generally poorer living conditions--fail to materialize" in the near future,⁽⁸⁵⁾ then the population situation, which is already a problem, will be further exacerbated in rural areas.

Stronger political-ideological convincing work, combined with solid material stimuli, is now intended not only to bring the country-town migrations to an end, but also to achieve an increase in the rural population by moving primarily young well-qualified specialists and members of the intelligentsia [to rural areas].

FOOTNOTES

1. Georgia Kroll, "Problems of Migration Development in Rural Areas of the GDR," WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ZEITSCHRIFT DER MARTIN-LUTHER-UNIVERSITÄT, Halle-Wittenberg, Vol 35, No 1, 1986, p 74.
2. LEXIKON DER WIRTSCHAFT, ARBEIT, BILDUNG UND SOZIALES, Berlin (East), 1982, p 937.
3. Ibid.
4. Collective of authors, "Social Structure and Lifestyle in the Cities," INFORMATIONEN ZUR SOZIOLOGISCHEN FORSCHUNG IN DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK, Vol 20, No 5, 1984, p 11; Hartmut Wendt, "Aspects and Tendencies of Internal Migration in the Urbanization Process of the GDR," PETERMANN'S GEOGRAPHISCHE MITTEILUNGEN, Vol 130, No 3, 1986, p 165.
5. Siegfried Grundmann/Ines Schmidt, "Social and Economic Aspects of Migration and Their Control," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR PHILOSOPHIE, Vol 33, No 2, 1985, pp 118/119; Anita Morgenstern/Friedemann Roehr/Lieselotte Roehr, "Urbanization and Development of City Populations in the GDR," PETERMANN'S GEOGRAPHISCHE MITTEILUNGEN, Vol 124, No 2, 1980, p 119.

6. Ines Schmidt, "On the Demographic and Social Structural Aspects of Migration," WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT, Vol 33, No 3, 1985, p 367; collective of authors, "How Is Life in the Village?" SOZIOLOGISCHE ASPEKTE DER ENTWICKLUNG DES DORFES IN DER DDR, Berlin (East), 1985, p 63.
7. Werner Ostwald, "The Territorial Structure of Social Reproduction as the Condition for and Subject of Comprehensive Intensification," WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT, Vol 33, No 10, 1985, pp 1444/1445.
8. Grundmann/Schmidt, "Social and Economic Aspects...", op. cit., p 117.
9. Ibid., pp 118/119; also see: Hans Neumann, "Tendencies of City-Oriented Migration in the GDR," GEOGRAPHISCHE BERICHTE, Vol 26, No 1 or 98, 1981, pp 49-56; Helga Schmidt, "The Influence of Migration on Major City Development in the GDR," WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ZEITSCHRIFT DER UNIVERSITAET HALLE, Vol 35, No 5, 1986, pp 144-150.
10. Schmidt, "On the Demographic and...", op. cit., p 367.
11. Ibid., pp 366 ff; also see: Grundmann/Schmidt, "Social and Economic Aspects...", op. cit., pp 118 ff; collective of authors, "Social Structure and Lifestyle...", op. cit., p 8.
12. Siegfried Grundmann, "Territorial Conditions and Factors in the Development of the Socialist Lifestyle," INFORMATIONEN ZUR SOZIOLOGISCHEN FORSCHUNG IN DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK, Vol 21, No 5, 1985, p 9; see also: Grundmann/Schmidt, "Social and Economic Aspects...", op. cit., pp 115/120; Wendt, "Aspects and Tendencies of Internal Migration...", op. cit., p 167; Siegfried Grundmann, "On the Function and Development of Cities Under Conditions of Prioritized Intensive Expansion of Reproduction--Sociological Aspects," WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT, Vol 34, No 7, 1986 p 998.
13. Grundmann/Schmidt, "Social and Economic Aspects...", op. cit., p 115.
14. Grundmann, "On the Function and Development of Cities...", op. cit., p 998; see also: Grundmann/Schmidt, "Social and Economic Aspects...", p 121; Grundmann, "Territorial Conditions and Factors...", op. cit., p 9.
15. Grundmann, "Territorial Conditions and Factors...", op. cit., p 9; see also: Grundmann, "On the Function and Development of Cities...", op. cit., pp 998/999.
16. In this connection, Grundmann refers to the expansion of East Berlin as the locality for key technologies, the development of maritime traffic and the harbor economy at Rostock, the development of the ferry port at Mukran, the continued construction of nuclear power plants, the extraction of brown coal, which is also taking place now in densely populated areas, the uncovering of domestic ore deposits, which will also absorb a large portion of the worker potential in the GDR in the future. See also: Grundmann, "Territorial Conditions and Factors...", op. cit., p 10.

17. Ibid.
18. See collective of authors, "How Is Life....," op. cit., p 69.
19. See Wendt, "Aspects and Tendencies of Internal Migration....," op. cit., p 167.
20. Collective of authors, "How Is Life....," op. cit., p 8.
21. Wendt, "Aspects and Tendencies of Internal Migration....," op. cit., pp 167/168; Grundmann/Schmidt, "Social and Economic Aspects....," op. cit., p 119; Schmidt, "On the Demographic and....," op. cit., p 366.
22. Wendt, "Aspects and Tendencies of Internal Migration....," op. cit., p 168.
23. In the GDR, the rural population is considered to include the portion of the GDR population residing in communities with fewer than 2,000 inhabitants. See "Social Structures in Rural Areas Are Changing," Radio GDR II, 9 May 1985,, in RIAS-MONITOR-DIENST, 9 May 1985, p 9.
24. Kroll, "Problems of the Development of Migration....," op. cit., p 75.
25. Ibid., p 77.
26. Grundmann, "Territorial Conditions and Factors....," op. cit., p 10; see also: Wendt, "Aspects and Tendencies of Internal Migration....," op. cit., p 166.
27. Grundmann/Schmidt, "Social and Economic Aspects....," op. cit., p 119; collective of authors, "Social Structure and Lifestyle....," op. cit., p 12.
28. Grundmann, "Territorial Conditions and Factors....," op. cit., p 10.
29. Wendt, "Aspects and Tendencies of Internal Migration....," op. cit., p 170.
30. Ibid., p 167; see also: Ostwald, "The Territorial Structure of Social....," op. cit., p 1449; Schmidt, "The Influence of Migration....," op. cit., p 145.
31. Appropriate investigations in selected kreise of Dresden Bezirk in the period 1981 through 1983 demonstrated that an "above-average migration frequency exists for the age groups between 18 and 30 (41.8 percent of all respondents). The highest group-specific migration was also recorded for the group of 18- through 25-year-olds. See also: Kroll, "Problems of the Development of Migration....," op. cit., pp 75/76; see also: Schmidt, "On the Demographic....," op. cit., p 370.

32. Kroll, "Problems of the Development of Migration...", op. cit., p 76; Wendt, "Aspects and Tendencies of Internal Migration...", op. cit., pp 170/171.
33. See also Schmidt, "On Demographic and...", op. cit., p 368.
34. Grundmann/Schmidt, "Social and Economic Aspects...", op. cit., p 121; Ostwald, "The Territorial Structure of Social...", op. cit., p 1449.
35. Kroll, "Problems of the Development of Migration...", op. cit., p 78.
36. Because the majority of migrants is married (45 percent) and because the share of the social structure of homogeneous marriages is growing, the out-migration of a qualified worker generally results in the departure of a similarly well-qualified worker. See Grundmann/Schmidt, "Social and Economic Aspects...", op. cit., p 12.
37. Ostwald, "The Territorial Structure of Social...", op. cit., p 1449; see also: Kroll, "Problems of the Development of Migration...", op. cit., p 78.
38. Grundmann/Schmidt, "Social and Economic Aspects...", op. cit., pp 121/122; Wendt, "Aspects and Tendencies of Internal Migration...", op. cit., p 171.
39. Gabriele Rein, "On Selected Problems of Population Development in a Rural Territory," WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ZEITSCHRIFT DER WILHELM-PIECK-UNIVERSITAET, Rostock, Vol 34, No 5, 1985, p 49.
40. Grundmann, "On the Function and Development of Cities...", op. cit., p 999.
41. Grundmann, "Territorial Conditions and Factors...", op. cit., p 13; see also: Siegfried Grundmann/Jens-Peter Heuer, "On the Territorial Structure of the Intelligentsia in the GDR," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, Vol 34, No 8, 1986, p 711.
42. Grundmann, "On the Function and Development of Cities...", op. cit., pp 992/993.
43. For this reason, around 60 percent of the members of the Association of Film and Television Creators, 50 percent of the Writers, and 50 percent of the journalists in the GDR live in East Berlin. The share of family members of the intelligentsia among the resident and employed population in congested areas--in other words, in large cities--is generally higher than that in thinly populated areas having an agrarian structure. See Grundmann/Heuer, "On the Territorial Structure...", op. cit., pp 710/711.
44. Grundmann, "On the Function and Development of Cities...", op. cit., p 994.

45. Wendt, "Aspects and Tendencies of Internal Migration....," op. cit., p 169; Grundmann/Heuer, "On the Territorial Structure....," op. cit., p 716.
46. Grundmann/Heuer, "On the Territorial Structure....," op. cit., p 716.
47. Grundmann/Schmidt, "Social and Economic Aspects....," op. cit., pp 121/122; in this work, it is said that, for example, rural communities with fewer than 1,000 inhabitants have a high share of difficult-to-rent apartments (which are vacant not as a result of construction reasons).
48. Ostwald, "The Territorial Structure of Social....," op. cit., p 1455.
49. Ibid., pp 1454/1455; see also: Grundmann/Schmidt, "Social and Economic Aspects....," op. cit., p 116; Schmidt, "On the Demographic and....," op. cit., p 368.
50. "The out-migration of manpower from the land and from agriculture reached dimensions which led to a labor shortage in this economic sphere, differentiated as to territory, so that a turnaround in the requirements for manpower recruiting in comparison to the extensive developmental phase becomes particularly discernible." See Schmidt, "On the Demographic and....," op. cit., p 368.
51. Grundmann/Heuer, "On the Territorial Structure....," op. cit., p 717.
52. Grundmann, "On the Function and Development of Cities....," op. cit., p 999; see also: Wendt, "Aspects and Tendencies of Internal Migration....," op. cit., p 166.
53. See, for example, Grundmann, "On the Function and Development of Cities....," op. cit., p 999.
54. "The economy of the GDR is faced by a threshold in which every supplemental requirement for social work capacity, natural resources, capacities of the technical infrastructure, etc., requires a precipitous rise in costs." See "Territorial Developmental Problems in Rural Areas of the GDR," GEOGRAPHISCHE BERICHTE, Vol 31, No 2, 1986, p 132.
55. Wendt, "Aspects and Tendencies of Internal Migration....," op. cit., pp 165/166.
56. Ostwald, "The Territorial Structure of Social....," op. cit., pp 1450/1455; see also: Grundmann/Schmidt, "Social and Economic Aspects....," op. cit., p 122; Grundmann, "Territorial Conditions and Factors....," op. cit., pp 14/16.
57. Wendt, "Aspects and Tendencies of Internal Migration....," op. cit., p 166.
58. Grundmann/Schmidt, "Social and Economic Aspects....," op. cit., p 122; Grundmann, "Territorial Conditions and Factors....," op. cit., p 15.

59. Grundmann/Heuer, "On the Territorial Structure....," op. cit., p 717.
60. "Housing construction will continue over the next few years to be the most important control instrument with respect to the social yardstick...." See Ostwald, "The Territorial Structure of Social....," op. cit., p 1449.
61. Wendt, "Aspects and Tendencies of Internal Migration....," op. cit., p 170.
62. Grundmann/Schmidt, "Social and Economic Aspects....," op. cit., p 122.
63. Ibid., pp 123/124; see also: collective of authors, "Social Structure and Lifestyle....," op. cit., p 12.
64. Grundmann/Schmidt, "Social and Economic Aspects....," op. cit., p 120; Kroll, "Problems of the Development of Migration....," op. cit., p 78; see also: Schmidt, "The Influence of Migration....," op. cit., p 145.
65. "Social Structures in Rural Areas....," op. cit., p 11; see also: Grundmann, "Territorial Conditions and Factors....," op. cit., p 15; Grundmann/Schmidt, "Social and Economic Aspects....," op. cit., p 123.
66. Ostwald, "The Territorial Structure of Social....," op. cit., pp 1449/1450; Wendt, "Aspects and Tendencies of Internal Migration....," op. cit., p 170.
67. Ostwald, "The Territorial Structure of Social....," op. cit., p 1454; see also: Sonja Mueller/Elke Schneider, "Young People and Their Desire To Reside in the Village--A Conference Report," INFORMATIONEN ZUR SOZIOLOGISCHEN FORSCHUNG IN DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK, Vol 22, No 2, 1986, p 73.
68. Erich Honecker, "Report to the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany at the 11th Party Congress of the SED," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Vol 41, No 91, 18 April 1986, p 5; see also: "Social Structures....," op. cit., p 9.
69. Mueller/Schneider, "Young People and Their Desire To Reside....," op. cit., pp 69/70.
70. Grundmann, "Territorial Conditions and Factors....," op. cit., p 12.
71. Katharina Belwe, "Problems of Liberating Manpower in the GDR," Gesamtdeutsches Institut, Federal Office for All-German Tasks, Bonn, 1984.
72. Ostwald, "The Territorial Structure of Social....," op. cit., p 1452; see also: Schmidt, "The Influence of Migration....," op. cit., p 149.
73. Kroll, "Problems of the Development of Migration....," op. cit., p 78; Grundmann, "Territorial Conditions and Factors....," op. cit., p 12.

74. Honecker, "Report to the Central Committee....," op. cit., p 5.
75. Mueller/Schneider, "Young People and Their Desire To Reside....," op. cit., p 68.
76. Ibid., pp 73/74.
77. Honecker, "Report to the Central Committee....," op. cit., p 5.
78. Mueller/Schneider, "Young People and Their Desire To Reside....," op. cit., pp 69/71.
79. Ibid., p 70.
80. Ibid., p 74.
81. Honecker, "Report to the Central Committee....," op. cit., p 5.
82. Mueller/Schneider, "Young People and Their Desire To Reside....," op. cit., pp 77/78.
83. Ibid., p 75.
84. Grundmann/Heuer, "On the Territorial Structure....," op. cit., p 717.
85. Ibid.

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